A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA

24 NOV 1944
MADRAS

M. S. RAMASWAMY AIYANGAR, M.A.

VARADACHARI & CO.
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A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA

(Prepared in accordance with the Syllabus issued by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, for the A Group of the Secondary School Leaving Certificate Scheme)

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

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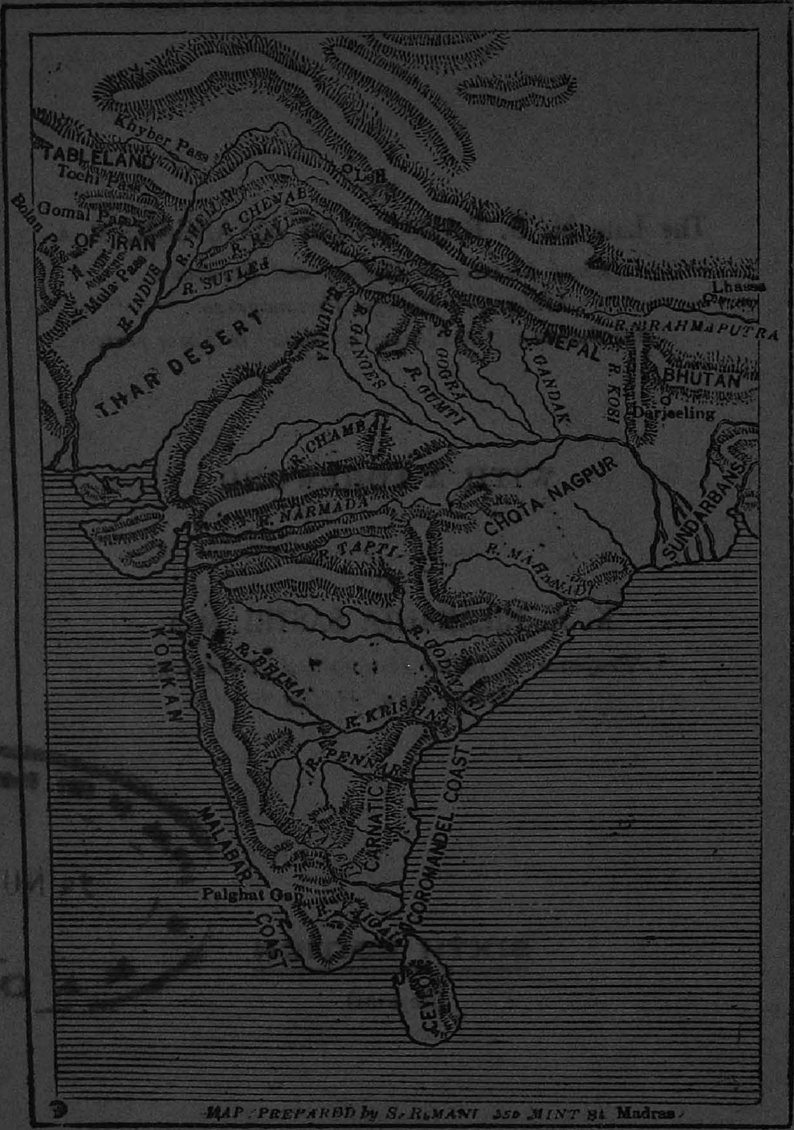

INDIA—PHYSICAL FEATURES

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FOREWORD

Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co. are a well-known firm of Educational Publishers of long standing and it is with pleasure that I accede to their request to write a Foreword to their new publication 'A School History of India' by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A.; Professor of History, Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram. The author is well fitted, by his long experience as a teacher of history and by the published work in Indian History that stands already to his credit, for the tasks entrusted to him by the Publishers. To write a school book on so extensive a subject would always tax the judgment and the capacity for clear and concise expression of any one who attempts the task and no two authors set to it are likely to produce results that, being equally meritorious, yet do not differ widely in the choice of facts and in the manner of their presentation, And the extent to which a text-book written in a foreign language helps the pupil depends largely on the nature of the teaching in the class-room. I am sure that this book by Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar will be found helpful by earnest teachers of history of whom there are many that are not content with a dry narrative giving the bare minimum of facts and dates sufficient for "examination purposes." There is much to be said in favour of the attitude of the writer of this book who has declined to treat the secondary grade pupil as a mere school boy and has assumed that he is, or should be, at least to some extent, interested in the rationale of the subjects of his study. Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar has attempted a difficult task and in my opinion, has attained a remarkable measure of success in it. Considering the low price of the book, it will be seen that the Publishers have done their best for its get-up.

University of Madras, K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

20th December 1931

24 NOV 1944

PREFACE

This little book is intended mainly for the use of students preparing for the School Final and Matriculation Examinations and every attempt has been made to adhere strictly to the syllabus prepared by the Secondary School Leaving Certificate Board. I am indebted to the Publisher's volumes, 'Hindu India' and 'Muhammadan India', of which I am joint author with Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar, for materials relating to these two periods and for maps used. Owing to limitations imposed by the syllabus, I have not been able to devote as much space as I desired to the tracing of India's cultural progress in the various epochs But what is stated is enough, I hope, to whet the desire of students and teachers for further studies in that direction.

I have described events of the last few years some-what in detail owing to the great issues involved. Everyone will recognise that Lord Irwin arrived in India as Viceroy at a most critical moment in the relations of England and India and no writer even of a small text-book like this, can afford to omit incidents clustering round the two great personalities of the age—Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. Agreeably to the present syllabus, I have, wherever required inserted paragraphs dealing with social and economic conditions, but I regret I could not altogether avoid fine print and foot-notes which are objectionable in a book of this sort.

I am deeply greateful to Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar, M. A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, for his kind Foreward.

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Vizianagram, M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR,

20th December 1931.

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A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SECTION A. PRE-ARYAN INDIA

INDIA, our motherland, is a vast country. Indeed it may be called a sub-continent. It hangs down to the south of Asia in the form of a triangle with its base up and its apex down. Did it always have this appearance? No, say the great scientists. Countless ages ago, a great ocean called the Tethys covered what is now the great plain of Hindustan. Where the Himalayas stand now a deep sea rolled its waters. South of the Tethys there was a big continent called the Gondwana, embracing in its system South Africa, Madagascar, Peninsular India, the Malayan Archipelago and Australia. Ages passed. A series of physical cataclysms took place. The Himalayas rose and the Tethys dried up leaving a deep valley between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, which was rapidly filled up by the mud and earth brought down by the rivers from the Himalayas. Then again the sea rose and swallowed large slices of the Gondwana land leaving South Africa and India to take their present form.

India in the Past

The India that we now see on the map is bounded on the north by the Himalaya Mountains and on all the other sides by the sea. It is roughly divided into two parts by the double system of mountains, the Vindhyas and Satpuras. The northern part of it is known as the Plain of Hindustan, the *Aryavarta* of the ancient Hindu authors, and the southern as the Deccan. The latter consists of two distinct regions. One is the low plateau embracing the land between the Tapti and the Tungabadra which is the Deccan, properly so called, and the other, the maritime plains of the south in which flourished in ancient times the three traditional Tamil kingdoms.

Boundaries

The great plain of Hindustan extends from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. It is very vast in extent and covers a little over 500,000 square miles. It comprehends the basins of the great rivers, the Ganges and the Indus. The Ganges with its tributaries, the Jumna, the Gandak and the Gogra, has, from time immemorial, fertilised the soil of the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal.

The Plain of Hindustan

The people living in these tracts have ever been wealthy and inherited a great civilisation. Some of the most famous of Indian cities are situated on the banks of the Ganges or its tributary, the Jumna. Thus Allahabad situated at the junction of the Jumna with the Ganges is the true Prayaga, " the most sacred bourne of the Hindu pilgrimage." Delhi, the Imperial Capital, and Agra, the pride of the Moghul Emperors, are on the banks of the Jumna. Cawnpore, the great industrial city of Hindustan, Benares, the most sacred of all Hindu cities, and Pataliputra, the illustrious capital of the Maurayas. are all situated on the Ganges. The valley of the Indus has been no less significant in History. More than 5,000 years ago, the region watered by the Indus and its tributaries, was the centre of a great civilisation. It is believed by some scholars that the Indus valley might have been the cradle of all that is meant by oriental civilisation. The recent excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have furnished ample testimony to the existence of rich Sumerian colonies in the Indus valley about B.C. 3,100.*

The Himalayan Region

The mighty Himalayan range fences off India from the tableland of Tibet. It is 1,500 miles long and its breadth varies from 150 to 250 miles. From its western end runs south a series of low mountain ranges. the Suleiman and the Hala, which from the north-western boundary of India. Similarly the Himalayas branch on their eastern end into long spurs which run north and south. These are the Patkoi and the Naga Hills forming India's north-eastern boundary which is very difficult to cross. The north-western frontier of India, on the other hand, is pierced by many passes through which, in ages, past, foreigners have come to India either to plunder or settle in the rich plains of Hindustan. The most important of these passes are the Mulla Pass in Baluchistan, the Bolan Pass near Quetta, the Gumal Pass, an old trunk route frequented even now by Afghan traders, the Tochi Pass through which Muhammad of Ghazni led his forces to India, and the famous Khyber Pass.

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* Mohenjo Daro is about 190 miles from the Arabian Sea coast on the Indus. Mohenjo Daro means Mohenjo-on-Sea. Once upon a time it undoubtedly stood near the sea. Owing to the vast amount of silt and sand deposit brought down by the mighty torrent the Indus, the delta has rapidly grown, thus leaving an ancient sea-port so far inland. The Harappa site is about 380 miles up the river and it stands on the left bank of the Ravi river amidst a net-work of the dead channels of the Chenab, the Bias and the Sutlej, tributaries of the Indus. For an interpretation of the seals found in the excavations of the student is referred to the interesting book by Waddell entitled "*Indo-Sumerian Seals, Deciphered*," Luzac, 1925.

The Deccan is a vast triangular plateau which commences from the south of the Tapti river. It is separated from the north of India by the Vindhyas and the Satpuras. This region was inhabited by wild tribes and, in ancient times, was impassable; and hence the communication from the plains of the north to the Deccan was either through the land routes on either coast, or by the sea. The Deccan plateau is not a land of great fertility. The only fertile tracts are those of the river valleys. Portions of this region are famous for their black cotton soil.

The Deccan

The triangular shape of the Peninsula is largely due to the position of the two mountain chains, the Western Ghats, and the Eastern Ghats, which may be said to meet in the Nilgiri Hills. The Western Ghats rise, rather steeply, near the Gulf of Cambay and run right along the west coast leaving a narrow strip of land between the Ghats and the Arabian Sea. The northern portion of this strip is known as the Konkan, and the southern the Malabar coast. The west coast strip receives the full force of the monsoon and is consequently very fertile. There are a number of good harbours on this side. These were visited in ancient times by foreign ships. The Eastern Ghats, unlike the Western, do not form one long steep range. They are broken in many places and the coastal strip is much broader. Across this strip flow several large rivers like the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri. Once upon a time this coast possessed many good harbours like Musulipatam, Kaveripattanam and Korkai, but many of them have now been chocked up with sand and silt.

The Ghats

Who were the earliest inhabitants of India? What kind of culture did they possess? These are very difficult questions to answer. We cannot fix the date of the first appearance of man in India But we may state confidently that the primeval home of mankind in India was the Deccan. Perhaps early men first inhabited the shore land. Gradually, as the race multiplied, men sought new homes in the forests of the interior.

Earliest Man in India

Primeval man in India must have been a savage, but there are reasons for believing that he was not the miserable, under-fed and under-sized creature that his western counterpart was. He had no settled abode but wandered in the forests and he had no certain food supply. His very existence depended upon success in the chase. He endured

The Old Stone Age

hardships without murmuring. Always alert to avoid danger, he developed powers of keen observation. That he might hunt more efficiently he devised tools and weapons. A few of his implements were made of stone. His workmanship was, however, very crude. He made axe-heads of stone. The club was perhaps his favourite weapon. The spear and the bow were indispensable to him. Sometimes he fashioned instruments of bones of animals now extinct. The age, in which men of this type existed, is known as the Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic Age). In this age palaeolithic man invented fire and possibly speech. It is believed by some scholars that the Savara, the Sonthale, the Mundari and the Andamanese tongues now spoken by the half civilized nomads are really derived from the speech of the Old Stone Age men, Palaeolithic tools have been discovered in the valleys of the Narbada and the Godavari, in the neighbourhood of Madras City and Ongole in the Guntur District.

The New Stone Age

Ages and ages passed, and a new type men occupied our land. We do not know if they were the descendants of palaeolithic men. They were certainly superior to the men of the Old Stone Age. We call them Neolithic men. We are fortunate enough to know more about them, as the tools and instruments they used are found scattered in various parts of our country. The new men still used tools made of stone, but they were all polished. They were also more varied. Particularly interesting are the methods employed by the men of this age to dispose of the dead. In the Old Stone Age, men abandoned their dead in the forests but the new men buried them. They placed the dead body in a big earthern pot which was then covered with a lid. The pot with the dead body in a sitting posture in it, was then buried in an oval pit. This is what is known as urn burial. Such urns were discovered recently at Adichanallur, in the Tinnevelly District, and Brahmanabad in Sind. Tombs belonging to this period are found in large numbers in the Districts of Chingleput, Nellore, South Arcot and North Arcot.

Agriculture

Palaeolithic man knew neither agriculture nor cattle-breeding. But neolithic man tired of a nomadic life learnt the advantages of a settled existence. He tamed the wild animals. He began to depend for his food supply more on the produce of the earth than on meat. He tilled the ground and raised crops.

Not far away from his fields, the neolithic man built small huts for himself and his dependants. These huts were circular in shape

with a small opening for entrance. For fear of wild beasts, men lived in groups, and hence their huts lay huddled together.

Houses and Utensils

These men of the New Stone Age cooked their food and stored the uncooked grain in large pots. Indeed, they made earthern pots of various patterns, brilliantly polished. We have every reason to believe that they did not remain naked. They covered their loins with cotton cloth. These men knew the art of weaving.

The Neolithic Age was followed in South India by the Iron Age, while in North India a Copper Age intervened between these two. Huge pre-historic copper implements have been recently discovered at Gungeria in Central India, and several implements made of the same metal, such as swords and spear-heads, have been found at Cawnpore, Fatehgarh, Mainpuri and Muttra. It is quite possible that bronze, brass, lead and tin were foreign to South India, Perhaps they were introduced to the Tamil country by speakers of Sanskrit.

The Metal Age

Scantly as our knowledge is in regard to the men of the Metal Age, we are in a position to know better about the earliest inhabitants of India with whom the Aryans came in conflict. These were the Kols and the Dravidians. Of these, the latter were more numerous and civilised than the former. It is not easy to determine whether both the Kols and the Dravidians came to India from outside. Nor can we know with certainty if they were the descendants of the men of the Metal Age, and if they were ethnically related to each other. These are very difficult problems to solve and learned people differ completely in their views.

The Aborigines

The Kols, or the Kolarians as they are called, were divided into many tribes. Some of these were utter savages while some were in possession of a few rudiments of civilisation. The Anamalai hillmen of Southern Madras, the Panians of Malabar, the leaf-wearers of the Orissa Hill States and the Akas of Assam are the modern representatives of the ancient Kols. The Santals of Bengal and the Khonds of Orissa represent the more advanced section among the Kols. All speak languages called the *Munda*, perhaps the oldest ever spoken in India. The modern Kols, like their ancestors, have no caste system. They worship many spirits which are supposed to reside in trees. To these gods, they offer sacrifices such as cakes, honey and milk, small fowls and other animals. The Kols are mild,

The Kols

and peace-loving, timid before strangers, and merry in their own villages. To-day they are mostly to be met with in the hills of Western Bengal, in the uplands of Chota Nagpur and also in the Central Provinces.

The Dravidians

Were the Dravidians of old, immigrants in India, or were they the descendants of the men of the Metal Age in the Deccan? We can never answer these questions definitely. European scholars think that the Dravidians entered India through the north-western passes of the Himalayas. In proof of this theory, they point to the existence of a Dravidian tribe in Baluchistan, speaking a language called the *Brahui* which is closely allied to *Tamil*. But it is argued that this island of Dravidian speech in distant Baluchistan may represent the remnant of an *outflow* of Dravidians from India to Baluchistan. The large admixture of Greek, Hittite, Sumerian and Semitic words in the Tamil language, the oldest of Dravidian tongues, has enabled a few scholars to dicover for the Tamils an East-Mediterranean origin. But the conclusions may easily be turned the other way.* Where the Dravidians, like the Celts and the Cymri in Ireland, the representatives of the earliest band of Aryan immigrants in India? Were they in any way connected with the Sumerian colonies established at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus valley or were they really the original inhabitants of India? These and other kindred questions are engaging the attention of learned men. Perhaps the question of the origin of the Dravidians will remain one of the many unsolved problems of Indian History.

Whatever view we may take in regard to their origin there is no doubt that the Dravidians were at the time when history takes

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*Gk. Noses = Eng. disease = Tamil நோய் (Noy).
Gk. Kenos = Eng. empty ; vain = Tamil கனவு (dream).
Gk. Palaios = Eng. old = Tamil பழைய (old),
Gk. Polis = City = Tamil பல்லி.
Gk. Keda = evils, sorrow = Tamil கேடு.
Gk. Emys = the tortoise = Tamil ஆமை.
Gk. Omphalos = navel : centre = அம்பலம் (public hall)
Hit. Ab = father = Tamil அப்பன்.
Hit. De = flame = Akkadian Di = Tamil தீ = fire.
Hit. Man = king = Akkadian Man = Tamil மன் = king.
Hit. Pu, Bu = bud = Tamil பூ = flower.
Hit. Mal = dwelling place and Ga = house. *Cf.* Tamil மாளிகை (dwelling house).
Egyptian Theba = float ; ark. Tamil தெப்பம்.
Hebrew-Phoenecian Peor-on = Tamil பிரான் = Lord.
Hebrew Dodai = loving = Tamil தொடை = the thigh.
[See for details, 'The Tamils more than Three Thousand Years Ago' by Mr. V. Venkatachellam Ayer: *Mysore University Magazine*, Dec. 1926.]

notice of them, one of the most civilised people in existence.

Dravidian Culture

Though the Aryan expressed dislike for them, and spoke of them as Dasyus, Danavas and Rakshasas, and referred to them as "black-skin" and "flat-nosed," tbe Dravidians known to history were a highly enterprising race of warriors and traders. They practised peaceful industry and commerce. They traded in their own vessels and carried the Indian teak, rice, muslins and peacocks to far-off Persia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, They were very adventurous and colonised many islands and unknown regions in early times.

Dravidian Religion

Ancient Dravidian religion, before the advent of the Aryan, consisted in tree and serpent worship. The Dravidians also worshipped many spirits and demons for whom they offered bloody sacrifices. It is possible that they worshipped the Earth both as a god and as a goddess. There is evidence to believe that the upper classes among them worshipped *Muruga*, the god of war. A few Dravidian tribes in the north worshipped also the Sun. The Dravidians living in the south of India developed a higher form of religion than the others. They also evolved a higher type of civilisation. In modern times they are mainly represented by the Tamils, the Telugus, the Kanarese and the Malayalis.

The Mongol

Besides the Kols and the Dravidians, other races also entered India from time to time. Of the Aryan invasion and settlement we shall read in the next section. A race of people known as the Mongols migrated into India in historic times through the north-east. These Mongols had originally lived in North-West China. They differ very much in physical appearance from the Dravidians. Their head is broad and round and their colour is yellowish. They have very little hair on their face and their nose is depressed at the root. Their eyes are set obliquely somewhat like those of a fish' These short-statured, flat-faced people wandered forth in ancient times in search of new lands till they reached Tibet. The Himalayas must have acted as a barrier. So they slowly wandered down the valley of the Brahmaputra and ultimately occupied portions of Assam and Bengal. A large number of them followed the downward course of the Chindwin, the Sitang and the Irawaddi and occupied Burma. The result of these tribal migrations was that a large population especially in North and North-East India showed the admixture of Mongolian blood. These Mongolid tribes of varying degrees of

purity can be seen in Burma, Assam and the Sub-Himalayan tracts, including Nepal and Bhutan. In Bengal and Orissa, the Mongols mixed freely with the Dravidians giving rise to what is known as the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type.

SECTION B. THE ARYANS

Long, long after the Dravidians had developed a settled form of life in India, there came through the north-west in wave after wave of migration a sturdy race of people. These were the 'Aryans.' They are sometimes spoken of as 'Indo-Aryans' to distinguish them from others of the same race who lived in other areas. The new-comers were of a high stature and powerful build, white skinned and acquiline-nosed. Thus in their physical appearance they presented a striking contrast to the dark-skinned and short-statured Dravidians.

The Aryans

It is believed by many scholars that the Aryans were but a branch of a great family which they term Indo-European. Other members of this family are the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, the French and the English. From a close similarity of the languages spoken by these people, scientists have deduced that the forefathers of those who now speak Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, German, Greek, English and French must have lived together once upon a time in a compact area from which they must have emigrated in different directions owing either to climatic or economic causes.

The Indo-European Family

Where was that compact area, the original home of the Indo-European family ? On this question scholars have differed in their opinions. Prof. Maxmuller, the great German scholar expressed the view that the Aryans came to India from Central Asia. Others located the home-land of the Aryans in the steppes of South Russia. Our illustrious countryman, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, tried to prove that the Vedic Aryans started their exodus from the Arctic regions. A. C. Das, a Calcutta scholar, argues with much force and reason to prove that Sapta Sindhu, which included the beautiful valley of Kashmir on the north and Gandhara on the west, was the original cradle of the Aryans. Recent researches by European scholars incline to the view that the primitive home of the Aryans is to be sought in that compact area in Europe, represented in modern maps as Hungary, Austria and Bohemia.

The Original Home of the Aryans

What sort of life did the primitive Aryans lead in their original home? What kind of culture did they possess? These are very interesting questions and are answered mainly with the help of comparative philology. Although the Ancient Aryans were not, strictly speaking, nomadic, they developed a migratory life. They possessed waggons of crude construction. They put all their goods in them and wandered from place to place in search of pasture. These waggons were drawn by oxen—not by horses with which they had very little to do. They reckoned wealth in cows and ate beef. They built boats to cross rivers or open water. They constructed houses though of a flimsy kind. They invariably burnt their dead.

The Primitive Aryans

In the course of their wanderings these primitive Aryans discovered fermentation and began to brew intoxicating drinks out of honey, barley and later on from the grape. The monotony of wandering and herding was often broken by holding feasts by celebrating triumphs and holding funeral assemblies. To these feasts bards were invited and these chanted or recited stories of dead or living chiefs. These bards, in the words of H. G. Wells, "sustained and developed in men's minds a sense of a greater something than themselves, the tribe, and of a life that extended back into the pas. They not only recalled old hatreds and battles, they recalled old alliances and a common inheritance. The feats of dead heroes lived. A new thought came into men's minds, the desire to be remembered. Men began to live in thought before they were born and after they were dead."

Their Culture

Whatever might have been the original home of the Aryans it is certain that tribe after tribe emigrated from that land taking with them their women and children. Either their land was not sufficient to support the vastly increased population or some terrible climatic change compelled them to seek newer lands. One branch of the primitive Aryans marched westwards and mixing with the people they found occupying the west, became the forefathers of the English, the French and the Germans. Another branch marched eastwards and it was the eastern branch of this 'Indo-European people' that finally found its way to India. It must not be imagined that the eastern branch of the Aryans straightway reached India from their original home or that the process was accomplished in a few years. Long, long before they came to the Hindu Kush they had filled large tracts of Asia Minor and acquired by conquest the fertile regions between Amer

Migrations

Daria or the Oxus and Syr Daria. Inscriptions recently discovered at Boghaz-koi in Cappadocia indicate that at one time (*circa* 1400 B.C.) the Aryans stayed in that country. These wandering Aryan tribes also colonised Bactria. We know that for several centuries the vast Iranian plateau was occupied by this branch of the Indo-European. This vast process of migration, colonisation and settlements took place in the course of several centuries. It is not an easy task to fix dates for any of these events. Critical opinion seems to favour *circa* B.C. 2,000—B.C, 1,500 as the period when the Aryans came down to the Punjab.

The Iranians and the Indo-Aryans

In the Iranian plateau the united Aryans lived in peace for several centuries. But gradually there grew up religious differences among them. One section worshipped the powers of nature, as they had done in days of yore under the names of Mitra, Varuna, Soma, Indra and so on. These came to be known as Devas. Others evolved a loftier conception of the universe being controlled by one Supreme Being whom they called Asura-Mazda. Hence they were called Asuras. The Devas and the Asuras fought many a battle. Eventually the Devas were defeated and possibly ejected from Iran. The defeated Aryans sought refuge in the north-east of Iran from which after varying vicissitudes of fortune they came into the Punjab.

The Rig-Veda

Of the life of the Aryans who thus entered India we learn a good deal from their oldest and most sacred book—the Rig Veda. It consists of ten books which together contain 1017 hymns. These songs contain the body of religious tradition current among the priests. The Vedic Aryans worshipped the different phenomena of nature under different names. The deities which they worshipped and in whose honour hymns were composed, are Dyaus (Sky) invoked usually with the Prithivi, Varuna often coupled with the deity Mitra, Indra. Surya, Savitri, Agni, Vayu, Maruts (Storms) Rudra (Thunder) and Yama. But the ancient Aryans did not merely worship the elements. From a contemplation of these deities the most learned among them rose to the conception of one Supreme Being, the one God of the Universe. Indeed there are hymns in the Rig Veda wherein the idea of the one Great Creator is proclaimed.

The course of Aryan expansion after their advent into India can easily be traced with the help of the Rig Veda. Thus the mention

in that sacred book of the rivers Kubha (Kabul), the Suvastu (Swat) the Krumu (Kurram) and the Gomati, indicate, that the country of Afghanistan and the valleys of the Swat, the Kurram and the Gumal were first occupied by them. It is also certain that the country of the Punjab was colonised, because the names of the five rivers occur in the Rig Veda. The battle of the Ten Kings, that is, the fight between the Tritsus, a tribe of the later Aryan swarm, and the combined tribes of the Purus and the Bharatas was fought on the banks of the Parushni (Ravi). They had not yet colonised the region of the Ganges. In short, the Aryans in the Rig Vedic Age occupied the Kabul valley, the Punjab and the countries to the east, between the Sutlej and the Jumna.

Aryan Expansion

Social Life and Culture in the Age of the Rig-Veda

The Rig Vedic Aryans were past masters in the art of war. When fighting, kings and noblemen rode in chariots. They used bows and poisoned arrows, lances, spears, swords, and axes and sling stones were much in evidence in Vedic warfare. The bank of rivers often served as the fields of battles.

Although they fought much, the Rig Vedic Aryans never forgot the blessings of peace. They were good agriculturists and raised mainly wheat and barley. They sank wells and dug canals to irrigate their fields. Such industries as existed in Vedic times were confined to the construction of carts and chariots and weapons of warfare. Metals were used extensively in the manufacture of domestic utensils. Gold and silver ornaments were largely in use.

Social Organisation

Vedic society rested on a patriarchal basis, that is relationship was traced through the father. Monogamy was the rule, but kings and chiefs often took more than one wife. As there was a keen desire for male progeny competent to perform funeral rites, marriage came to be regarded as more or less obligatory. The joint family system was definitely recognised and the eldest male member of the family exercised great control over the conduct of the rest. Some scholars think that the Rig Veda does not recognise any caste system. But in some of the later hymns of the Rig Veda, such as the *Purushasukta*, the four *varnas* of the Hindu system appear.

The *Grama* or the village was the nucleus in the Rig Vedic society. It formed a member of the canton or the *Vis* and groups of cantons constituted the *Jana* or the people. Monarchy was the

type of constitution recognised in ths Rig Veda. Kingship was normally hereditary in character. The king's main functions were to protect the priests and offer sacrifices on behalf of himself and the *Jana*. The subjects paid tribute to the king who was entitled, besides, to a lion's share in the conquered land. The chief officers surrounding the king were the *Senani*, the commander-in chief, the *Gramani*, who was in charge of the smaller divisions of the army, and the *Purohita*, who always accompanied the king and offered him advice. The Rig Veda recognises the existence of tribal and village assemblies—the *Samithi* and the *Sabha*—which perhaps controlled the foreign policy of the king.

Political Organisation

What is the age of the civilisation depicted in the Rig Veda? It is a difficult question to answer. Prof. Maxmuller thought that the hymns of the Rig Veda were composed between B.C. 1200 and B.C. 1000. But Indian scholars are inclined to assign the Vedic period to B.C. 3000 or even B.C. 4000.

The Age of the Rig Veda

SECTION C. THE EPIC PERIOD

An entirely new picture of Aryan life is presented in the Age of the later *Samhitas* (collections of books) which succeeded the Rig Vedic period. Our knowledge of Aryan civilisation in this period is based upon the sacred writings of the Aryans other than the Rig Vedic hymns. These writings or collections are named the *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas*, and *Upanishads*. When the hymns to the old Vedic deities increased in number, it became necessary to arrange and classify them. Thus we have the four Vedas—the Rig, the Sama, the Yajur and the Atharva. The *Sama* Veda contains 1549 verses. They have a musical quality and deal with the Soma offering. The *Yajur* Veda is the Aryan Prayer-book. It is concerned with the offering of prayers at sacrifices. The *Atharva* Veda containing 6000 verses embodies, among other things, the superstitious beliefs and practices of many tribes, possibly non-Aryan in extraction.

The later Samhitas

The ancient Rishis added to each Veda a *Brahmana* or *Brahmanas*. They taught the priests how to chant a hymn correctly and how to pronounce a mantra. They also contained elaborate rules and regulations regarding the conduct of sacrifices. One portion of the Brahmanas is devoted to a learned disquisition on such

great themes as life and death, matter and spirit. These were the thoughts of the great seers of the past elaborated in the solemn loneliness of forests and so were called the *Aranyakas.* The last portion of the Brahmanas contains the Upanishads (lit, secret teachings) which explain the inner meaning of the Vedic hymns and lead us on to sublime philosophical speculations concerning the universal soul.

The Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads

We find that in the new age, the Aryans had gone far to the east and Kurukshetra became the centre of all their activities. The Punjab gradually lost its importance. The Aryans now occupied the whole of the Gangetic plain. Kosala (modern Oudh), Videha (modern North Bihar), and Magadha (modern South Bihar), all became Aryanised states under enlightened kings. It is quite possible that the Aryans spread southwards up to the Vindhya Mountains. The *Aitareya Brahmana* speaks of the Andhras, the Pulindas and the Sabaras as living in the Vindhyan frontier. This period is also marked by the growth of large towns such as Asandivant, the Kuru capital, Kampila, the capital of Panchala, Kausambi and Kasi (Benares), the capital of the Kasis. A still greater change was effected in this period in the grouping of tribes. The Bharatas of the Rig Vedic period no longer occupied an important position. We find in their place and in the land occupied by them, the Kurus, who were closely allied to the Panchalas. The Kuru-Panchalas now passed as the models of refinement while the Kuru-Panchala kings set the example for other kings. On the whole this period of the later Samhitas is characterised by a great advance of civilisation. Industrial life quickened, and progress was made in agriculture and pastoral pursuits. What is the date for the period of the civilisation of the Brahmanas? Scholars differ again on this point. "The beginning of the Brahmana period may fairly be put back to 800 B. C." *

Aryan Expansion

Not far removed from the age of the Brahmanas is the period of civilisation depicted in the epics, the ***Ramayana*** and the ***Mahabharata.*** The author of the *Ramayana* was Valmiki, a great sage and seer. This epic gives us the story of Rama's life and wanderings. In its present form, the *Ramayana* consists of about 24,000 slokas divided into seven books. But we have reasons to believe that the seventh

* A. B. Keith in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 148.

book was a later addition. Although Rama must have flourished at east five centuries before the Bharata war, the *Ramayana* was later in composition than the *Mahabarata*.* In its present form the *Mahabharata* consists of over 1,00,000 slokas. But the original story as recited by its author, Vyasa, consisted of only 8,800 slokas. Evidently great additions have been made to it from time to time by different authors. Of these the most important is the philosophical poem, in eighteen cantos, known as the *Bhagavad Gita*. Divided into eighteen books or *parvams*, the *Mahabharata* describes the war between Duryodhana, the leader of the Kurus and Yudhishthira, the chief of the Pandavas. In the form in which it has developed, the *Mahabharata* is not an epic at all but 'an encyclopaedia of moral teaching.'

The Epics

King Dasaratha of Ayodhya had four sons. Rama, Bharatha, Lakshmana and Satrugna, born of his three wives, Kausalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra, respectively. Rama married Sita, daughter of Janaka, king of Videha. Rama was an ideal husband, true to his wedded wife throughout his life. One day King Dasaratha announced in open darbar that he intended to make his eldest son Rama, heir apparent. Kaikeyi, his second wife, felt jealous and wanted to make her son Bharata king. She therefore reminded Dasaratha of an old promise of his to grant her two boons. The plighted word of royalty being sacred, the royal husband was ready to grant any boon his wife desired, little suspecting her designs. Kaikeyi requested him to instal Bharata as king of Ayodhya and to banish Rama from the realm for fourteen years. Dasaratha was stunned on hearing the demanded boons and entreated her in vain to retract the request. Rama, on the other hand, carried out his father's command regarding it as his highest duty. Sita and Lakshmana insisted on accompanying Rama to the forest. In the meanwhile the aged king Dasaratha died of grief and the crown was offered to Bharata. Indignant at the conduct of his mother, Bharata refused to wear the crown. He went to the forest in search of the exiles with a view to beg them to return to Ayodhya. Rama was much moved by Bharata's request, but preferred to carry out the order of exile. He however, let his brother have his gold-embroidered shoes as a sign that he handed

The Story of the Ramayana

* "The original part of the *Ramayana* appears to have been completed at a time when the epic kernal of the *Mahabharata* had not as yet assumed definite shape." A. A. Macdonell in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 306.

over his inheritance to him.' In the forest of Dandaka Rama had no peaceful time. The Rakshasas of South India were molesting the Brahman sages and destroying their hermitages. Rama now took upon himself the duty of protecting the Dharma. He therefore waged ruthless warfare against the Rakshasas and killed many of them and also the terrible monkey chieftain Vali. One of the Rakshasas was Ravana, the Lord of Lanka, whose outpost extended as far as Janasthana in the lower Godavari valley. He made one of his followers assume the form of a golden deer and dance and prance before Sita in her husband's forest home. Sita was so attracted to get the deer that Rama and Lakshmana went in pursuit of it. In their absence Ravana carried away Sita by force. On returning from their pursuit of the deer the royal brothers learnt of the fate of Sita from the noble vulture Jatayu. They then went in search of Sita. On their way they met Sugriva and Hanuman, monkey chiefs, with whom Rama entered into a solemn alliance. With the help of Hanuman the place where Sita was kept captive by Ravana in Lanka was discovered. Rama and the monkey hosts crossed the ocean, over the bridge miraculously constructed by the monkeys. Entering Lanka, Rama destroyed the Rakshasa forces, finally killed Ravana himself and rescued Sita. "After she has purified herself from the suspicion of infidelity by the ordeal of fire, Rama joyfully returns with her to Ayodhya, where he reigns gloriously in association with his faithfnl brother Bharata and gladdens his subjects with a new Golden Age."

Political Reflex of the Ramayana

From the *Ramayana* it is evident that the Kosalas of Oudh and the Videhas of North Bihar enjoyed great prominence in the time of King Dasaratha of Ayodhya, the capital of Kosala. We also get from this epic a vague and dim picture of Eastern India. The poet Valmiki refers to a number of cities in Eastern Hindustan such as Kausambi, Kanyakubja and Kampilya. "The political conditions described in the *Ramayana* indicate the patriarchal rule of kings possessing only a small territory and never point to the existence of more complex states."

There lived at Hastinapura, in the land of Kurukshetra, two princes named Dhritarashtra and Pandu. Dhritarashtra was the elder of the two and blind; Pandu therefore succeeded to the throne and had a glorious career. He had five sons called the Pandavas. These were Yudhishthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. Dhritarashtra had one hundred sons known as the Kauravas,

Duryodhana was the most prominent among them. On the death of Pandu, Dhritarashtra took over the reigns of government.

The Story of the Mahabharata

He was at first very kind to the Pandavas and even appointed Yudhishthira heir-apparent. This roused the jealousy of the Kuru princes who plotted to destroy the Pandavas. To escape from them, the Pandavas went to the Panchala country where Arjuna won by his skill in archery the hand of Draupadi in open *Swayamvara*. The Pandava brothers were so loving and devoted to one another that Draupadi was alloted to become the common wife of the five princes. It was about this time that the Pandavas sought the friendship of Krishna, the hero of the Yadavas. Afraid of the growing influence of the Pandavas and their close alliance with both the Panchalas and the Yadavas, Dhritarashtra wisely effected a compromise between the cousins, giving Hastinapura to his sons and a small district to the Pandavas, where they built a new city called Indraprastha (modern Delhi). Here the Pandavas prospered. The envious Kurus plotted afresh to bring about their ruin. Duryodhana with the help of his uncle Sakuni inveigled them to a game of dice. Accepting the challenge Yudhishthira lost everything including Draupadi and the personal freedom of himself and his brothers. The Pandavas with their wife obtained their release on agreeing to remain in exile for twelve years and in obscurity during the thirteenth. They might get back their kingdom afterwards. They spent the twelve years in the Kamyaka forest fringing the Sarasvati and the thirteenth in disguise as servants of Virata, king of the Matsyas. It so happened that at that time the Kurus invaded the Matsya territory. The Pandavas, of course aided King Virata and drove the Kurus out of his kingdom. Then they made themselves known and asked Duryodhana to restore to them their kingdom. He gave them no satisfactory reply, and war ensued. It was a terrible war which raged for full eighteen days. Many were the allies on both sides and most of them were killed in the course of t he struggle. Only the Pandavas and Krishna with his charioteer came out alive. Yudhisthira was at last crowned king at Hastinapura.

It may be said that all India took part in the Bharata struggle. We learn from the epic that North India and the Deccan were organised into a number of small kingdoms, often at war with one another. The people of Kosala, Videha, Anga, Vanga (Bengal) and Kalinga on the east and those of Sindhu, Gandhara and Bhalika on the west formed the main allies of the Kurus. The five brothers

were helped by a section of the Yadavas under the leadership of Krishna, by the Panchalas, the Matsyas and by the kings of Kasi (Benares), Chedi and Magadha.

States and People in the Age of the Mahabharat

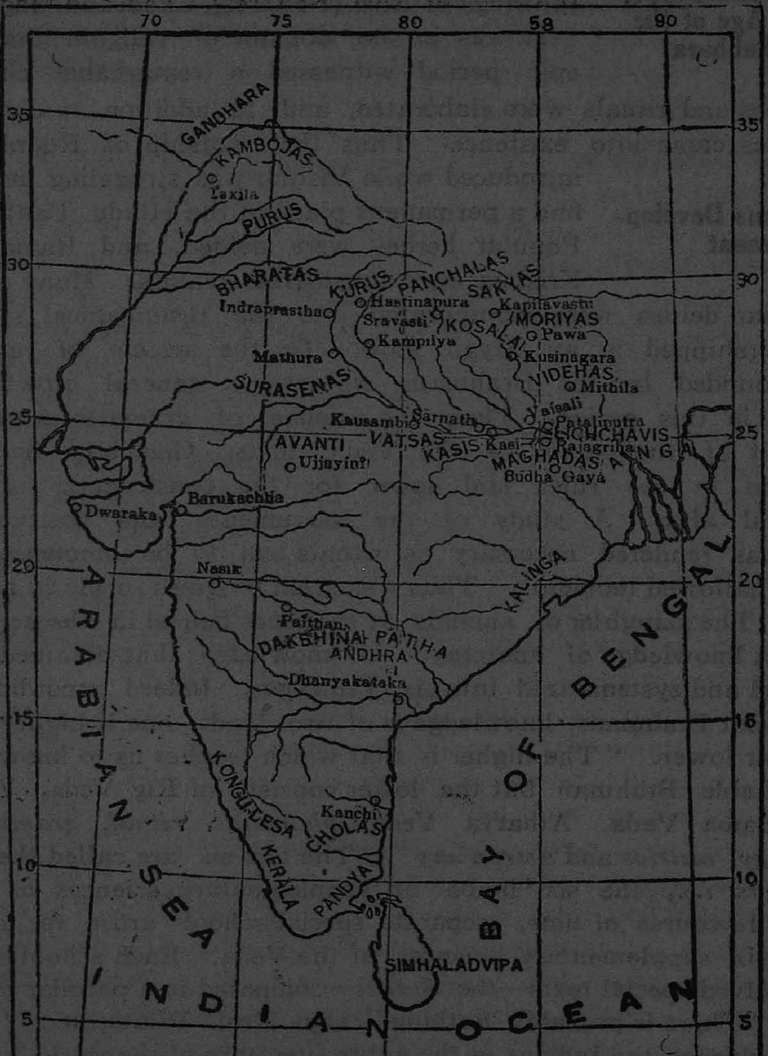
It was in the domain of religion that the epic period witnessed a remarkable change. Sacrifices and rituals were elaborated, and in addition to old gods new ones came into existence. Thus the worship of Rudra was introduced while Vishnu was struggling hard to find a permanent place in the Hindu Pantheon. Popular heroes were deified, and Rama and Krishna were considered Avatars. Many of the Dravidian deities were incorporated into the Brahmanical system and worshipped in an Aryan garb. To the system of religion as expounded by the Brahmans we owe a general growth of culture in this period. Thus the science of grammar arose as a result of the study of the Vedic texts. Geometry had its inception in the rules laid down for the construction of the sacrificial altar. A study of the movements and position of stars was rendered necessary as rituals had to be commenced at certain hallowed moments. Thus was great progress made in astronomy. The slaughter of animals at sacrifices helped in the acquisition of a knowledge of anatomy. All knowledge thus obtained was arranged and systematized into six *Vedangas.* Indeed according to the ancient Brahmans, knowledge is of two kinds, one is higher and the other lower. "The higher is that which teaches us to know the imperishable Brahman but the lower consists of Rig Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda, Atharva Veda, *phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics* and *astronomy*". The last six are called the six *Vedangas. i.e.,* the six 'limbs' or supplementary sciences of the Veda.* In course of time, separate special schools arose for each of the six supplementary sciences of the Veda. Each school in its turn evolved special texts—the *Sutras*—composed in a peculiar prose style. "There is probably nothing," says Prof. Winternitz, "like these *Sutras* of the Indians in the entire literature of the world."

Religious Development

Reaching back to great antiquity and closely connected with the epics are the *Puranas* intended to glorify the worship of particular gods and to guide the pious Hindu in shaping his moral conduct and regulating his religious observances. Whatever might have been the

The Puranas

* See the section on *Vedangas* in *A History of Indian Literature*, by Prof. Winternitz, 1927.



MAP OF INDIA

Showing the Kingdoms in the Vedic and Buddhist Ages.

date of the composition of the *Puranas* in their present form, there is no doubt that the kernal of most of them is very ancient. In every *Purana* we find sections devoted to the cosmogony and history of primeval times and genealogical lists of ancient royal houses. The Puranas are eighteen in number* and cautiously used, yield valuable information to the historian.

The Caste System

A noteworthy feature of the later Aryan religion and polity was the development of caste. In Rig Vedic India there were only two classes of people, *viz*, the Aryans and the Dravidians. Soon 'classes' sprang up among the Aryans themselves. When sacrifices and rituals were elaborated, it became necessary to allot the function of Vedic study, the interpretation of Vedic texts and the actual performance of sacrifices to a special class who became proficient in them. These were the *Brahmans*. Warlike kings, and noblemen surrounding them, were known as *Rajanyas* and *Kshatriyas*. It was their primary duty to protect the Dharma and rule the land in accordance with it. Those who tilled the land and carried on trade were known as the *Vaisyas*. The *Dasyas*, that is, the native population, enslaved but not exterminated, became the *Sudras*. The duties of each of these classes were clearly set forth in the *Dharma Sutras* which held forth threats of severe punishments both in this and in the next world for lapses from the prescribed duties.

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CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF MAGADHA

SECTION A. THE EARLY BUDDHIST PERIOD

General Features of the Age

We have seen in the preceding chapter how the Indo-Aryans occupied the country upto the borders of Bengal and how they developed their religious and political institutions. In the early Buddhist period, *i.e.*, the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., the political and religious centre of gravity shifted from the western to the eastern part of Hindustan. The kingdom of Magadha now became more important and not a few of the stirring events of the period

* The Puranas are generally found mentioned in the sacred books in the following orders :—1. Brahma, 2. Padma, 3. Vaishnava, 4. Saiva, 5. Bhagavata, 6. Naradia, 7. Markendeya, 8. Agneya, 9. Bhavishya, 10. Brahmavaivartha, 11. Lainga, 12. Varaha, 13. Skanda, 14. Vamana, 15. Kaurma, 16. Matsya, 17. Garuda, 18. Brahmanda.

were connected with its kings and saints. This was also a period of great intellectual stir. Now were founded the great monastic orders of Buddhism and Jainism. This period also witnessed a great development of maritime commerce. The 'Dandakaranya' forest ceased to be the impediment that it was in the preceding age and there was freer intercourse between North India and the Deccan. Towns and cities grew in number and a beginning was made towards the formation of big empires.

Sources of Information

For a knowledge of society and politics in this early Buddhist age, we are indebted mostly to non-Brahmanical sources such as the Jain books and Buddhist canonical literature, especially the *Pitakas* and the *Jatakas*. The *Pitakas* (lit. baskets) are three in number, the *Sutta*, the *Vinaya* and the *Abidhamma*. The *Sutta Pitaka* consists of the five books of the *Nikayas* from which our knowledge of early Buddhist history is mainly drawn. The *Jatakas* are birth stories of the Buddha in his former lives, The sacred books of the Jains were written in Ardha Magadhi, while the *Suttas* of the Buddhists were written in Pali.

Political Condition: cir. 600 B.C.

Although the Buddhist books do not give us a direct picture of political India in the time of the Buddha, yet from references scattered about in the literature of the Buddhists, we can infer that there were sixteen states in North India between the Himalayas and the Narmada. Of these, five were large: (1) *Magadha* with its capital at Girivraja. In the time of the Buddha it coincided with the modern district of Patna together with a portion of the district of Gaya. The capital was later on changed to Rajagraha. King Bimbisara was its ruler in the Buddha's time. (2) *Kosala*. It was perhaps the most important of the kingdom of North India. Its capital was first located at Saketa and later on it was shifted to Savatthi. The Kosalas were a powerful people and they were at feud with the Magadhas who finally conquered them. (3) The *Valsa Kingdom*. It is perhaps to be identified with modern Bundelkhand and its capital was Kosambi. (4) *Avanti*. It is the country of Malwa with its capital at Ujjain. Avanti became famous as an important centre of Buddhism. The king of Avanti in the time of the Buddha was Pajjota, the Fierce. (5) *Gandhara*. In modern geography ancient Gandhara is represented by Peshawar in the North-West Frontier Province and by Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Its capital was Takshasila, famous in ancient times, as a

seat of great learning. Besides these five large kingdoms there were eleven minor states dominated by small nationalities. These were the Angas, the Kasis, the Vajjians including the Lichchhavis and Vidshas, the Mallas, the Cetis or Chedis, the Kurus, the Panchalas the Moriyas, the Surasenas, the Assakas and the Kambhojas.

Governmental Organisation

Some of the states mentioned above were pure monarchies. In a few the monarch was elected by the people. There were also many tribal republics, the most important of them being those belonging to the Sakiyas, the Moriyas, the Videhas and the Lichchhavis. The republican states were administered directly by the citizens in meeting assembled. Often enough, the people elected for a definite period an executive officer called a Raja.

Social Organisation

Society in the age of the Buddha was organised on the basis of caste. But in its operation the caste system was not so oppressive and tyrannical as it is now. In modern times a man's occupation is largely determined by his caste. The *Jatakas* tell a different tale. According to these, a Kshatriya became often a cook or a trader. Many Brahmans lived as hunters and trappers. Irregular unions of men and women belonging to different castes were also common, Notwithstanding these lapses, the organisation of society into four 'Varnas' found full recognition. At ths top of the society stood the Brahmans among whom nice distinctions began to appear. Thus the Kosala Brahman was considered more orthodox and purer than the Magadhan Brahman. Next came the Kshatriyas among whom were included the 'Hinduised' Dravidian chiefs. Religious learning was no longer the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmans. Many Kshatriya chiefs, in this period, were as learned as the Brahmans in the religious lore of the country and as we shall see presently, became the founders of great monastic orders. The Vaisyas, thanks to the growing trade of the country, became a power in the land. The lot of the Sudras, who formed the bulk of the population, was miserable enough. But with the growth of the new religion, Buddhism, their position began to improve considerably. Below the Sudras there were other 'low tribes' and clow trades'—*hina-Jatiyo* and *hina-Sippavi*—who lived by catching birds and killing animals. More despised than these were the Chandalas and Pukkusas who ate the carcasses of animals and were generally of filthy habits.

The *Jataka* stories are full of references to the maritime trade and activity of the people of this age. Although agriculture was the chief source of livelihood, there was great industrial activity. The main industries of the period were ship-building, cart-making, ivory-work, confectionery, jewellery, architecture, leather work, and painting. Each profession had its own guild and the guild-president was consulted by the king in all matters of finance and taxation.

Economic condition

Benares was, in those days, the chief centre of commerce and industry. From Benares, great trade-routes ran in different directions. On the western side of India, Broach was an important port from which Indian goods were exported to Syria, Babylonia and other countries. The two great eastern ports of India were Champa and Tamralipti (Tamluk), which carried on a brisk trade with South India, Ceylon and Burma. The chief articles imported were silk and sugar. The former came from China, and India was the great intermediary of the silk trade between China and Western Asia and Northern Africa. Rice, cotton, cinnamon, ginger, long pepper, beryls, perfumes, ivory work and gold were the Indian exports.

Trade Routes—Exports and Imports

But the most distinguishing feature of the age was the foundation of the two great monastic orders, Jainism and Buddhism. The latter half of the sixth century B.C. was a period of great intellectual stir on the part of the non-Brahman. More than sixty-three different philosophical schools came into existence—all under the aegis of the non-Brahmin. The Kshatriyas of the age were in no way inferior to the Brahmans in intellectual or moral attainments. They began to feel that *Moksha* could be obtained by their own individual moral effort, and not necessarily with the help of the Brahman sanyasis. But the Brahman vehemently opposed this idea. This led to a protest and the subsequent formation of the two monastic orders known as Jainism and Buddhism. It is a mistake to suppose that the founders of these orders were against the then existing social and religious institutions. Indeed the rule of the Vedic Gods, and the Law of Karma and Re-incarnation are acknowledged equally by the Hindus, the Jains and the Buddhists. But Jainism and Buddhism refused to believe in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices as a means of salvation.

Kshatriya Ascetic Orders.

SECTION B—MAHAVIRA AND GAUTAMA

We shall study in this section about the lives and teachings of two great saints, who, in determined opposition to the sanctity of the Vedic lore, established two faiths known to-day as Jainism and Buddhism. It was at one time supposed that Jainism was an offshoot of Buddhism. But the recent researches of scholars have established the fact that far from being an offshoot of Buddhism, Jainism had an earlier existence.

Jainism and Buddhism

The Jains are the followers of the Jina (or Kevalin), a name by which Mahavira was known. They worship certain superior beings called Tirtankaras. There were twenty four of them and Mahavira was the last Tirtankara. The twenty-third Tirtankara, who perhaps established the original order of Jaina monks, flourished in the eighth century B.C. He was Parasvanath. Though born of a rich family, he discarded all worldly pleasures and, after a period of intense meditation, attained *Nirvana* or final liberation. The monks who belonged to the order of Parasvanath had to take four great vows—not to injure life, to be truthful, not to steal, and to possess no property.

The Jaina Tirtankaras

Long, long after the death of Parasvanath, Mahavira was born. We learn a good deal about Mahavira's early life from the *Kalpa-sutra*. In the neighbourhood of Vaisali, the capital of Videha, there was Kundagrama whose ruler was Siddharta, head of a warrior-clan called the Jnatrikas. He married Trisala, a beautiful Lichchhavi princess. To them was born Mahavira known, in his earlier days, as Vardhamana. In due time, Mahavira was married to Yasoda. But married life had no charms for Vardhamana, who spent his time in the company of saints and sanyasis. After the death of his parents he left his wife and home and became a wandering monk. He led a life of severe ascetism and fully subdued his senses by profound meditation and unbroken celibacy. For twelve years he wandered as a homeless hermit, visiting cities and practising penances and, in the eighteenth year, he attained Nirvana, "the complete and full, the unobstructed, unimpeded, infinite and supreme, best knowledge and intuition, called *kevala* (total)." Vardhamana is now known as the Jina (the conqueror) or Mahavira. He became the head of a new sect, the *Nigranthas*. The last thirty years of his life were spent

Mahavira

in teaching his religious system and organising his Order which was patronised chiefly by the kings of Videha, Magadha and Anga with whom he was related through his mother. The travels of Mahavira extended as far north as Sravasti near the Nepalese frontier and as far south as the Parasvanath Hill. His death took place in the seventy-second year of his life in the small town of Pawa in the Patna district. "This event may have occurred at the end of the rainy season in the year 468 B.C."*

Principles of Jainism

The Jains, like the Buddhists, do not care for the Vedas. Jainism has for its object the attainment of *Moksha* or freedom of the soul from its mundane fetters. Right Faith, Right Knowledge, and Right Action—these three alone will enable a Jain to reach his goal. The Jains believe that even inanimate objects are endowed with life. *Ahimsa* or abstaining from injuring living beings is one of the cardinal principles of their life. For this reason the Jains abstain from all kinds of flesh and "the more rigid of them drink only filtered water, breathe only through a veil and go sweeping the ground before them, for fear of unconsciously swallowing or crushing any invisible animalcule". The Jains believe in the efficacy of severe penances and one of their stringent practices is the *Sallekhana* which consists in starving oneself slowly to death.

Life of Gautama Buddha

The founder of Buddhism was Gautama Buddha, a younger contemporary of Mahavira. He was born in a small republican tribal community. His father was Suddhodana, the chief of the Sakya clan of great name and fame, which had its capital in the Nepal Tarai. As the son of a Raja, Gautama lived amidst plenty and beauty. At nineteen he was married to his beautiful cousin. For some years he hunted and played 'and went about in his sunny world of gardens and groves and irrigated rice-fields'. Soon a great discontent fell upon him and he shunned luxury and enjoyment. He was much oppressed in his mind in regard to what he saw all round him—misery, disease and death. Gautama was therefore resolved to quit the little world of mirth and joy in which his father had placed him. His own idea was to join the ranks of the ascetics who lived under severe rules, ever seeking a deeper reality in life. It was at this time that a messenger brought the news of the birth of a son to him. Gautama said: "This is

* Jarl Charpentier, in the *Cambridge History of India*. Vol. 1, p. 163.

another tie to break". So, one day, without being seen by any one, he and his charioteer slipped out of the sleeping town. When the Buddha reached the outskirts of his little republic, he divested himself of all the costly clothes and ornaments he was wearing and giving them to Chana his faithful servant, asked him to go to the capital and deliver them at his house. Gautama went alone taking a southerly course till he reached a hilly spur running into Bengal, not far from the town of Rajgir. There he joined the company of several sanyasis who taught him all the metaphysics of the age. Gautama soon learnt from them that supreme knowledge and power could be acquired only by fasting and self torment. He then retired to the jungles near the Vindhya Mountains and practised the severest austerities which had no other effect than reducing his body to a skeleton.

Gautama was now convinced that fasting and inflicting other torments on the body would not bring him any nearer to the final goal he was seeking, To the astonishment of his followers, he demanded and ate ordinary food. The shocked disciples deserted him and once again Gautama wandered alone. Alone and unfriended he went to Gaya. One day, while sitting in contemplation under a *Pipal* tree, the revelation came to him. After the dawn of the new wisdom, he proceeded to Benares and there obtained the first recruits to his faith. With the help of his earnest disciples, he continued to preach his religion till his death in B.C. 487.

The teachings of the Buddha were simple in nature and so became popular. The Buddha did not concern himself with the question of a Supreme Deity or its essence. He simply ignored such questions. His object in life was to remove all misery and unhappiness from this world. The Buddha found that *insatiable selfishness* was the cause of misery and discontent. "Until a man has overcome every sort of personal craving his life is trouble and his end sorrow. There are three principal forms which the craving of his life takes and all are evil. The first is the desire to gratify the senses, sensuousness. The second is the desire for personal immortality. The third is the desire for prosperity, worldliness. All these must be overcome—that is to say, a man must no longer be living for himself—before life can become serene. But when they are indeed overcome and no longer rule a man's life, when the first personal pronoun has vanished from his private thoughts, then he has reached the higher wisdom, *Nirvana*, serenity of sonl. For

The Doctrines of Buddhism

Nirvana does not mean, as many people wrongly believe, extinction, but the extinction of the futile personal aims, that necessarily make life base or pitiful or dreadful."*

Moral Precepts

It is a mistake to suppose that Gautama Buddha wanted all men to retire to the forest and lead a life of contemplation. He recognised the need for the layman to pursue his usual avocation in the world, but he laid down special rules for his conduct and a somewhat stricter code for the monks of the Order (*Sangha*). The following five commandments are common to both the sections :—

"Let not one kill any living being;
Let not one take what is not given to one;
Let not one speak falsely;
Let not one drink intoxicating drinks;
Let not one be unchaste."

Buddhism : A World-wide Religion

In fine, the religion of the Buddha is extremely catholic in its tendencies and its moral precepts are of surpassing beauty. From the beginning thousands embraced it. This religion, based on the foundations of charity, love and forgiveness, is to-day professed by more than a third of the human race.

SECTION C. THE KINGS OF MAGADHA

Magadha

One of the most important of the ancient kingdoms in India was Magadha. In the time of the Buddha it corresponded to the modern Patna and Gaya districts. Its original capital was Girivraja but later on it was changed to Rajagraha. Various imperial dynasties ruled there from time to time—the Mauryas, the Sungas, the Kanvas and the Guptas. Magadha was also the centre of religious activities. Jainism and Buddhism were originally nurtured in its soil. Here were born many learned men such as Kautilya and Kamandaka, Panini and Patanjali. It was in Magadha that the ancient Universities of India, Nalanda and Vikramasila were founded.

The earliest dynasty that ruled over Magadha was that founded by Brihadratha, the father of the famous Jarasanda. The next

* H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History*, p. 208.

dynasty in the Puranic lists was the one of which Sisunaga was the founder. Sisunaga was a chieftain of Kasi and he founded a dynasty at Girivraja about 650 B. C. Some scholars think that the Sisunaga kings belonged to the great tribe of the Nagas who figure largely in the epics.

The Dyuasty of the Sisunagas

Magadha attained her imperial status in the reign of Bimbisara of Srenika, the fifth of the line (519 B.C.). His capital was at Rajagraha. A warrior and statesman, he paved the way by his wise policy for the greatness of Magadha. He entered into matrimonial relationship with the rulers of Kosala and Vaisali. He waged successful war against Anga and annexed it. One of his queens, the daughter of the Raja of Kosala, brought part of Kasi as her dowry. Fragments of Buddhist Canon that have been preserved mention two interviews which Bimbisara had with the Buddha. On the occasion of the Buddha's second visit to Magadha, Bimbisara presented him with the Bamboo Grove in which huts could be built for the members of the Buddhistic order. From the same authority it is gleaned that Bimbisara was equally tolerant of the Jain faith. The powerful king was murdered by his son Vedehi-putu Ajatasattu (Ajatasatru) who afterwards, ascended the throne (491 B.C.).

Bimbisara

The act of Ajatasatru, just mentioned, led him to a war with the Raja of Kosala whose daughter was married to Bimbisara. Ajatasatru was defeated in this war but later on he was pardoned, and Kosala itself passed on to him. By cunning and treachery Ajatasatru took possession of Vesali, the capital of the Vajjian confederacy. To keep the Vajjians in check, he built a small fortress on the northern bank of the Son near its junction with the Ganges. This developed, in the time of the Mauryas, into the famous city of Pataliputra. Ajatasatru thus became master of the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalayas.

Ajatasatru

The successors of Ajatasatru were kings only in name. The last of them, Mahanandin, married a low-caste woman and had a son by her, Maha Padma Nanda, who usurped the throne and founded the dynasty of the Nandas.

Successors of Ajatasatru

All available evidence, such as the Puranas and the writings of the Greeks, points to the fact that Maha Padma Nanda destroyed not

only the principality of the Sisunagas but many others ruled by the Kalingas, the Ikshvakus, the Surasenas and others. Indeed he created a big empire out of these smaller principalities and kept a large army and a well-filled treasury which preserved that empire for his successors. Authorities differ in regard to the length of the Nanda dynasty. According to the Puranas it lasted for nearly 88 years. This is perhaps an exaggerated estimate. This dynasty was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya's famous minister, Kautilya, who perhaps led a disloyal priestly movement against the Nanda. A good feature of the Nanda rule was the unification of North-East India, which formed the nucleus of the Mauryan Empire.

The Nandas

SECTION D. THE PERSINS AND THE GREEKS

The connection between India and Persia dates back to the period when the Aryans and the Iranians lived together in the great Iranian Plateau. The Vedas of the Hindus and Avesta of the Persians furnish sufficient evidence to prove close cultural contact between the Persians and the Indians in very ancient times. No one, for example, can fail to notice the close relationship between certain Vedic and Avestan deities. Thus the Vedic divinity Varuna resembles the Avestan deity, Ahura, Mazda or Ormazd. "Equally well-known are the points of kinship between the Indian Mitra and the Iranian Mithra, and in a less degree, between the victorious Indra, Vritrahan of the Rig Veda, and the all-triumphant Verethraghna of the Avestan Yashts."

Early Connection between India and Persia

The seals obtained from the recent excavations at Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo Daro in Sind indicate that there was considerable intercourse in the third millennium B.C. between North-West India, Persia and Mesopotamia. Similar is the conclusion that the student of history derives from a study of the Boghazkoi inscriptions discovered in Asia Minor. These epigraphs of the period 1400 B.C. show numerals that closely resemble the Sanskrit ones and also suggest that Indra and Varuna were worshipped there.

Recent Discoveries

We have definite evidence to show that in the seventh century B. C. there was considerable trade activity between India and Babylonia. This trade was carried on chiefly *via* the Persian Gulf. Recorded political relationship between India and Persia

commences, however, with the sixth century B.C. In that century the Medio-Persian kingdom was paramount in Western Asia. One of its rulers, Cyrus the Great, brought his empire into more or less direct contact with India (B.C. 558—B.C. 536). In his life of Cyrus, Xenophon, a talented soldier and reputed Greek author, says that Cyrus 'brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians'. An Indian king would further appear to have sent an embassy to Cyrus. Whatever the truth of these statements may be, there seems to be no doubt that Cyrus was campaigning on a large scale in the tracts on the Indian border known to-day as Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Political Connection between Persia and India

One of the successors of Cyrus was Darius (522—486 B.C.). From the many inscriptions relating to his period, we can trace the general outline of Persian rule in Northern and North-Western India. Herodotus, in giving a list of the twenty satrapies or provinces established by Darius, mentions that India formed the twentieth division. He also gives a few interesting particulars about India which are well worth noting. "The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people that we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest—[the sum of] three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust". Thus there seems to be no doubt that Darius had annexed the Punjab to his kingdom. "Although the exact limits of the Indian Satrapy [under Darius] cannot be determined", says V. A. Smith "we know that it was distinct from Asia (Herat), Archosia (Khandahar) and Gandaria (North-Western Punjab). It must have comprised, therefore, the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea, including the whole of Sind; and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus"*. Darius is also known to have ordered his commander, Skylax, to find out the feasibility of a passage by sea from the mouth of the Indus to Persia. The admiral explored the course of the Indus down to its mouth and thence sailed along the coast to the head of the Persian Gulf.

Darius and India

Persian domination over the Punjab lasted for a little over a century. It is recorded that Xerxes, a great Persian emperor (486—465 B.C.), raised contingents from India when he invaded Greece. Again Darius III, the last of the dynasty to which

Persian Sway and Influence

*_Early History of India_, by V. A. Smith, P. 37

Darius and Xerxes belonged, *viz.*, the Achæmenian dynasty, issued a call to his Indian troops when he was attacked by Alexander the Great (330 B.C. ?) With the defeat of Darius III and the overthrow of this dynasty by Alexander, Persian influence in the Punjab and India began rapidly to decline. During the period of political contact with Persia, India was benefited largely. A new form of alphabet called the Kharoshthi (ass's lip) was introduced into India from Persia. Persian architects and builders introduced their own styles into this country. Some scholars are of opinion that the early Mauryan court was profoundly affected by Persian thought and culture.

In the reign of Maha Padma Nanda, India was invaded by a Greek force headed by Alexander, the world famous Macedonian.

Alexander the Great

He was the son of Phillip, King of Macedonia, and was only twenty years of age when he ascended the throne. His great ambition in life was to effect the conquest of the East and knit it with the West. In particular, he wanted to destroy the Persian Empire which, at the time, extended from the Hellespont to the borders of India, and from the steppes of Central Asia to the cataracts of the Nile. The ruling dynasty was that of the Achæmenidie and although their rule was efficient and prudent, the Empire grew very weak, especially in the time of Darius III (335 B.C.). Alexander therefore found it easy to overthrow the Persian Empire and destory it. Between the years 334 and 331 B.C., he conquered Persia, Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor. He also conquered Bactria, which lay to the north of the Hindu-Kush. He subdued Southern Afghanistan and built a city there known to-day as Khandahar.

In May 327 B.C. Alexander crossed the Hindu-Kush and finally began his March along the Indus. In February 326, B.C. he crossed the river at Ohind. Western Punjab was at that time ruled over by two strong kings. One was the Rajah of Takshasila (Taxila) and

Alexander in India

the other was a king of the Indo-Aryan tribe of the Pauravas, whom the Greeks called Porus. The latter's kingdom lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab. Now the king of Taxila was afraid of his rivals, Porous and the chief of Abhisara, a hill state which lay to the north in the Swat valley. He therefore solicited Alexander's aid against them and welcomed him. He also provided the Greek general with liberal supplies and elephants. Alexander first marched against the Raja of Abhisara and received his submission. Later on, another

Paurava chief, whose kingdom lay to the east of the Chenab, submitted. But the brave Porus would not do so. He was prepared to fight Alexander, and awaited him on the eastern bank of the Jhelum.

The Battle of the Jhelum

King Porus believed that Alexander would cross the river near a well-known ford, but the wily Greek stole a passage by a short bend in the river farther up, and met Porus in a narrow plain, where there was no room for the Indian army to move about freely. The elephants of Porus proved more a hindrance than a help in the attack against Alexander. In the bloody battle that ensued, the elephants of Porus were either captured or killed. The cavalry and the infantry of the Indian king did not fare better, but the brave Porus continued fighting to the end. He was at last taken prisoner and brought before Alexander who praised his valour and had the magnanimity to restore his kingdom to him. (July 326 B.C.).

Further Conquests of Alexander

Alexander thus subjugated the Punjab. He next advanced to the east of the Chenab. Then he crossed the Ravi near which he defeated an important confederacy of the Kathaioi. When Alexander reached the bank of the Beas, his Greek soldiers refused to advance any further. Threats and entreaties were of no avail. Alexander was therefore forced to retreat. To mark the farthest point of his advance into India, he erected twelve huge altars of stone.

The Return March

Alexander recrossed the Ravi and the Chenab and started southwards on his voyage down the Indus to the sea in a flotilla of small boats. On the way he subdued many rebellious tribes, among them, the Malloi and the Sibi who dwelt above the confluence of the Ravi with the Jhelum-Chenab. Farther down the river, Alexander subdued the Mushikas in Upper Sind. After exploring the eastern and western mouths of the river he reached the open sea.

The Return to Persia

Alexander sent a portion of his army by the open route through the Mula Pass to Khandahar. He ordered the fleet under Admiral Nearchus to sail along the coast to the head of the Persian Gulf. He himself resolved to march through the waterless desert of Gedrosia in a direction parallel to the coast. After great difficulties and suffering, Alexander reached Persia.

Results of Alexander's Expedition

Alexander intended his annexations in India to be permanent, but his premature death destroyed his dominion. Within three years of his departure from India, the garrisons he left behind him in the many cities founded by him were all destroyed. His raid on India left no mark except the hardy scars of bloody war. But a few political results of his invasion may be noted, By subduing the warring tribes and kingdoms of the Punjab, he brought about the unification of that country which was later on absorbed by the Mauryan Empire. Alexander's invasion of India brought about a close cultural contact between that country and the Hellenistic kingdoms of Bactria, Syria and the Eastern Mediterranean which profoundly affected Hindu art and sculpture.

CHAPTER III

THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

SECTION A. CHANDRAGUPTA, BINDUSARA AND ASOKA

Chandragupta Maurya

The rule of the Nandas at Magadha was not popular. Discontent and confusion prevailed everywhere. The nobles in the country hated the tyrannical rule of the Nanda sovereign. Chandragupta Maurya was one of the discontented members of the royal family. He would appear to have been closely connected with the royal family by a clandestine marriage. Some scholars think that Chandragupta was a man of low origin, having been born of a Sudra woman, Mura. Having incurred the displeasure of the Nanda king, he quitted the kingdom and lived an exile. He is also said to have fled to the north-west where he met Alexander. It is quite probable that Chandragupta placed before Alexander a scheme of Magadhan conquest, which he was willing to pursue, but, as stated already, his soldiers refused to accompany him further than the banks of the Chenab. The story goes that Chandragupta, after the death of Alexander, put himself at the head of a force recruited from the frontier tribes. With such slender material he would appear to have destroyed Greek rule in the north-west. Turning next against Magadha, he put an end to the rule of the Nandas. The Puranas and the Buddhist and Jain books have preserved accounts of the bloody struggle between the Nanda king and Chandragupta.

His Conquest

After the overthrow of the Nandas and the liberation of the Punjab, Chandragupta effected the conquest of Saurashtra. Thus he became the lord of Northern India. His next great undertaking was against Seleukos Nikator, one of the distinguished generals of Alexander, who had become the master of the entire Western Asia. In the struggle, Seleukos, who invaded India, was repulsed. He had to abandon all his Greek dominions as far as the Kabul valley and a portion of Ariana. Greek writers have recorded that Seleukos purchased peace by giving his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta and other large gifts including 500 elephants (*crica* 303 B.C.).

Did Chandragupta conquer the Deccan?

Some passages in the Sangam poetry are interpreted to mean that there was a Mauryan invasion of the Tamil country from the Konkan through the Kaveri valley. It is quite possible that the rule of Chandragupta Maurya extended as far as Mysore,

Megasthenes

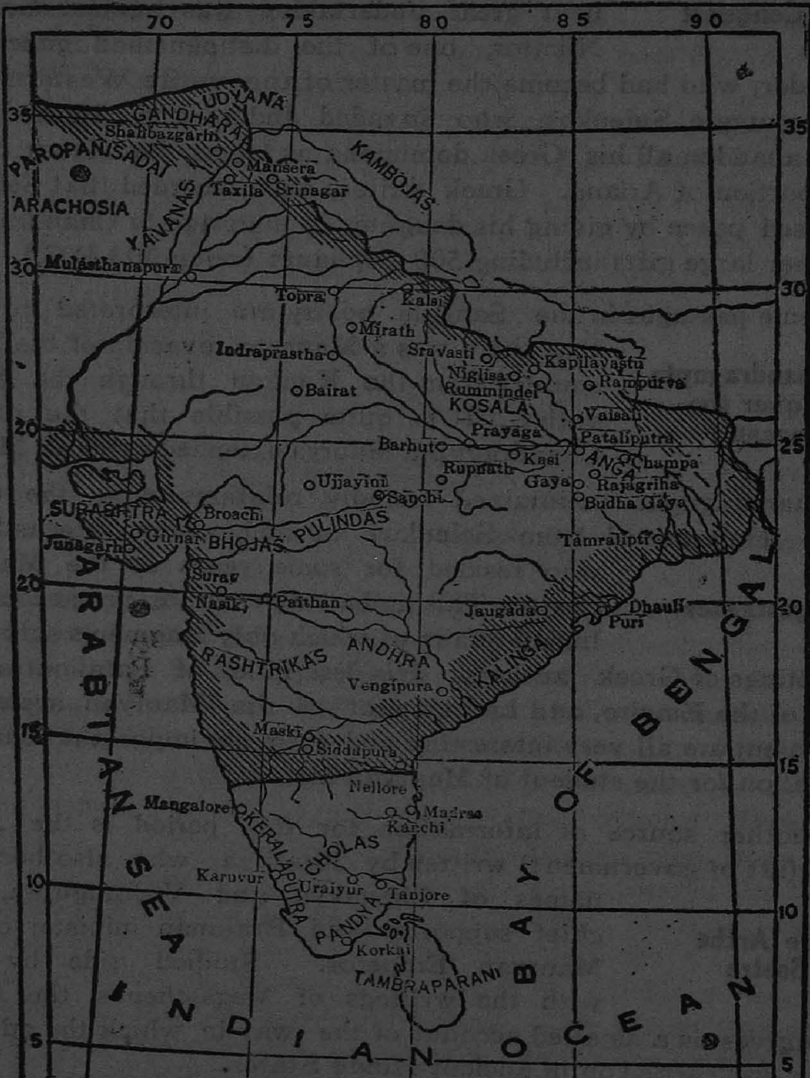
Chandragupta maintained friendly relations with the Greek power. He received from Seleukos an ambassador, Megasthenes, who resided for some years at the Mauryan court. This ambassador wrote an account of Indian affairs of which only fragments survive in the writings of Greek authors. His description of Pataliputra, the capital of the Empire, and his account of the Mauryan system of government are all very interesting and form an important source of information for the student of Mauryan history.

The Artha Sastra

Another source of information for this period is the *Artha Sastra* (art of government) written by Kautilya, who also bore the names of Chanakya and Vishnugupta, the chief supporter and Brahman minister of the Mauryan Emperor. Studied side by side with the writings of Megasthenes, the *Artha Sastra* gives us a detailed account of the way in which the administration was carried on in ancient Hindu States.

The End of Chandragupta

According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta was a Jain. When a great famine occurred in Northern India, he abdicated his throne and, becoming an ascetic, migrated to the table-land of Mysore along with his Jain Guru, Bhadra Bahu. There he is supposed to have lived for some years and ultimately starved himself to death.



Map of India

Showing the Extent of Asoka's Empire

It is supposed that Chandragupta abdicated his throne about 298 B.C. and that he was succeeded by his son Bindusara who reigned for about twenty-five years. Not much is known about the reign of Bindusara. He continued to maintain friendly relations with the Greek powers of Egypt and Syria. He kept in tact his father's Empire and possibly extended it in the Deccan. He died about 273 B.C. and was succeeded by his great son Asoka.

Bindusara (298 to 273 B.C.)

On Bindusara's death, there would appear to have been a struggle for the throne among his many sons. Finally Asoka succeeded in getting it. His reign lasted for nearly thirty-seven years. For eight years after his coronation, he followed the policy of his predecessors and continued to maintain friendly relationships with foreign powers. He probably suppressed, early in his reign, a revolt in Taxila. Then he made war on Kalinga which, under the Nandas, was part of the Magadhan dominion, but which after their time, probably regained its independence.

Asoka Maurya

Asoka's conquest of Kalinga was a turning point in his career, and according to Dr. Smith, it was one of the decisive events in the history of the world. The slaughter of the combatants was so great that it produced a profound impression on the mind of Asoka who vowed to forswear war altogether. However, Kalinga was now constituted a separate viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family with its capital at Tasoli.

The Conquest of Kalinga

Asoka, who detested the bloodshed of the Kalinga war, came more and more under the influence of the Buddhist teachings. He no longer coveted the territories of his neighbours. On the other hand he laboured hard to improve the moral condition of his people and to spread a knowledge of the Buddha Dharma among them. He undertook tours of pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism and issued edict after edict for the benefit of his subjects. He created new officials known as *Dharma Maha Matras* and *Dharma Yuktas* to do propaganda work and to promote the welfare of the people. In accordance with the tenets of Buddhism, he prohibited the slaughter of animals at sacrifices and abolished the royal hunt. He also restricted animal slaughter by the people for purposes of food.

Asoka becomes a Buddhist

In order to spread the gospel of the Buddha, Asoka sent missionaries of the faith to Syria, to Egypt, to Cyrene in North Africa, to Macedonia in Greece, and to Epiros. According to tradition he also sent missionaries to Pegu (Swarna Bhumi) and his name is connected with the beginning of Buddhist culture in ancient Khotan. He did not forget the savage parts of his own country. Buddhist preachers carried their religion to the wild tribes living on the Himalayas, to the Gandharas, to the Yavanas, to the people of the Kabul valley, to the Bhojas, to the Pulindas and others living in the region of the Vindhya Mountains and the Western Ghats. Asoka was chiefly instrumental in spreading Buddhism in the island of Ceylon to which he sent his own younger brother, Mahinda or Mahendra.

Buddhist Missions

Although a staunch Buddhist himself, Asoka did not persecute other sects and religions. Not to speak evil of their neighbour's faith was an essential principle in the Law of Piety as preached by Asoka. Not only did he tolerate other sects but he even helped them a good deal. Thus he excavated many caves near Gaya for the use of the Ajivaka monks.

His Tolerance

The simple teachings of the Great Emperor are found in the several edicts which he issued from time to time. Asoka attached profound importance to conduct and he exhorted his people to practise simple virtues, To practise *Ahimsa* or abstinence from killing any living being, to show honour and reverence to one's parents, to the Guru and the aged, to speak nothing but the absolute truth, to be pure in thought, word and deed under any circumstance, to be kind and charitable to all, including servants and slaves—these were the cardinal principles contained in the Law of Piety as preached by him. For the benefit of way-farers he dug wells and planted trees along the roads. He established hospitals for both man and beast and carefully arranged for an adequate supply of medicinal herbs and drugs.

His Moral Code

Asoka was a great builder, and his buildings were of a peculiar type. These were known as Stupas. * Some scholars think that the huge palace at Pataliputra, which Fa-Hien admired in the fifth century A.D., was constructed by Asoka. He completed the building of

His Stupas

* A Stupa contained the relics of a saint or marked some famous event in Buddhist history. It was usually a solid hemispherical mass of masonry at the top of which there was an altar surmounted by stone umbrellas. The base was surrounded by a carved stone railing, usually enclosing a perambulating path.

the dam of Sundarsana Lake in Kathiawar, which was begun in Chandragupta's time. Asoka is also credited with having built two cities. Srinagar in Kashmir and Lalita Patan in Nepal. Besides these, he erected many pillars wherein his edicts were engraved, some of which may be seen even to-day.

His Inscriptions

The inscriptions of Asoka form a very valuable source of information for the personality and character of Asoka. They also form the chief source for an understanding of his ethical doctrine and the details of his government. These inscriptions are found on rock, stone, pillar and slab. They are widely distributed from the extreme corner of the Punjab to the northern districts of Mysore and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. These inscriptions were royal proclamations which were published subsequently by his official- and inscribed on rocks and pillars. They fall into the following classes :—

(1) *The Fourteen Rock Edicts* :—These are found scattered from the Peshawar district to Ganjam. They contain an account of Asoka's principles of government and ethical doctrine.

(2) *The Two Kalinga Edicts* :—These are admirable instructions to his officers asking them to treat the subdued Kalinga people with mercy and lenience.

(3) *The Minor Rock Edicts* :—These are in several places in Bihar, the Central Provinces, Mysore and at Maski in the Nizam's Dominions. They give us a summary of Asoka's Dharma.

(4) *The Three Cave Inscriptions* :—These are found on the Barabar Hills near Gaya.

(5) *The Bhabru Edict* :—This contains a message from Asoka to the Buddhist Sangam. His main object would appear to have been to put an end to a division which then existed in the Buddhist Church.

(6) *The Seven Pillar Edicts* :—These were issued about the year 242 B.C. They form, as it were, an Appendix to the Fourteen Rock Edicts and emphasise Asoka's principles of government and ethics. They are found at Delhi, Allahabad and in North Bihar.

(7) *The Minor Pillar Edicts* :—They are found at Allahabad Saranath and Sanchi. One of them proclaims a punishment meted out to schismatics in the Buddhist Church.

Asoka occupies a great place in history. His claim to fame rests on the sole ground that he laboured unceasingly for the moral

and material uplift of his subjects. In the history of Buddhism he is second only to the founder himself. His missionary efforts helped in Aryanising the remote parts of the country and greatly stimulated the development of commerce and art. But greater than all these services was 'the goal of cosmopolitanism that he placed before the world, the brotherhood not merely of the human but of the living being." He is known in history as *Devanam Priya* (beloved of the gods), and *Priya Dharsana* (gracious of men).

Asoka's Place in History

SECTION B. MAURYAN ADMINISTRATION

The empire of the Mauryas was indeed a vast one. It included the whole of India except the southern extremity marked by a line drawn from Pulicat near Madras to Chitaldrug in Mysore. It also included those dominions beyond Gandhara which had come under the sway of Chandragupta. This empire was divided into many provinces. Over each province there was a provincial governor or viceroy. The viceroys of the bigger provinces were princes of the royal family. The edicts of Asoka mention four such as ruling at Taxila, Ujjayini, Tasoli and Swarnagiri. The royal viceroys were sometimes known as *Kumaras* and *Aryaputras*. The smaller provinces were under *Rajukas* who were assisted by *Pradesikas*. Very often the king sent inspectors or spies who virtually controlled the smaller governors. Large cities were in the charge of special officers called *Mukhas* and *Mahamatras*. There were also special Mahamatras called *Dharma Mahamatras*, whose function was to spread and enforce in practice the Law of Piety as conceived by Asoka.

The Organisation of the Empire

The unit of administration was the *Grama* which was autonomous under its headman known as the *Gramani*. A number of villages was under a *Gopa*. According to the edicts of Asoka, the Rajuka was the highest local official. In the place of the old quasifeudal system, the Mauryans introduced a bureaucratic rule which was highly efficient. The king was assisted by a cabinet of ministers. Some scholars think that in matters of administration, the Mauryans were influenced largely by foreign notions, especially those of Persia.

Nature of the Administration

The revenue of the king was derived mainly from land. Other sources of income were special irrigation dues, customs, tolls on

merchandise, profits of coinage, licence fees paid by artisans, traders and gaming houses and lastly fines imposed by the judiciary. Often enough the Mauryan kings extracted benevolences from the rich people. With the monies thus collected the state maintained the army and a huge bureaucracy of officials. Public works such as trunk roads and irrigation channels were carried out on a grand scale. The bringing up of orphans formed a special charge on the public treasury. Megasthenes notes that census registers both of property and of the people were carefully maintained by the State. Asoka would appear to have instituted a special department of religious charities and alms-giving.

Revenue and Expenditure

Megasthenes gives a graphic account of the way in which the affairs of big cities, especially those of the capital Pataliputra, were managed. In Pataliputra municipal duties were performed by six boards of panchayats, each with its allotted function. The boards supervised factories, looked after strangers, hospitals and public buildings. One board was in charge of the census operations, another controlled markets, weights and measures, while a third inspected manufactories and licensed trades.

City Administration

The military department, according to our Greek authority, was under the control of a board of thirty members divided into six *panchayats*. These boards controlled respectively admiralty matters, transport, chariots, elephants, cavalry and infantry.

The Army and the Navy

Although the government of the Mauryas was autocratic, the people on the whole were happy under the Mauryas. Towns were numerous and ranged from the small market town to the city. Trade was very brisk and markets were numerous. The prices of goods were publicly declared, and cheating of traders was almost impossible. Combinations of dealers to increase the prices of food-stuffs were punished severely. The bulk of the people lived a simple life and were frugal in their diet and dress, yet arts and crafts flourished. We hear of costly dresses luxurious gaming and festive houses, inns, hostelries, etc. We find in this period the beginnings of occupational and crafts guilds. Each craft guild had its officials and its own organisation. The joint family system pre-

Moral and Material Progress

vailed very largely, and we have evidence that widows were generally allowed to re-marry. Slavery was unfortunately prevalent and the slaves were recruited mainly from criminals and captives of war. The people, judged by Asoka's public edicts, attained a high degree of literacy. Although Sanskrit was the language of the Brahmans and learned men, the vernacular was greatly encouraged, and indeed, during the period of the Mauryas, Buddhist and Jain books were written largely in the vernacular.

SECTION C. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

Asoka died about 232 B.C. and his death was a signal for a general revolt on the part of the members of the royal family. The vast Mauryan empire which extended from the Hindu-Kush to the boarders of the Tamil country began to disintegrate almost at once. Jalauka, one of Asoka's sons took possession of Kashmir and proclaimed independence. The rest of the empire was divided into two portions, the eastern and the western, governed respectively by Dasaratha and Samprathi, the two grandsons of Asoka. Dasaratha governed the eastern provinces of Magadha and the outlying areas. He does not appear to have been such a great patron of Buddhism as his illustrious grandfather Asoka. He had for his consort Isanadevi, a worshipper of Siva, Samprathi, the ruler of the western provinces, had his capital at Ujjayini. The Jains claimed him as a great patron of their faith.

Successors of Asoka

According to the *Vishnu Purana*, Dasaratha was succeeded by kings whose rule was only nominal. The last of them was Brihadratha. He was assassinated by his own commander-in-chief, Pushya Mitra Sunga who became the first of a new line of kings known as the Sunga dynasty (185 B.C.). After this Mauryas disappeared as an imperial power.

The last Maurya

We shall now examine the causes that brought about the break up of the Mauryan Empire. Some of them are to be found in the policy pursued by Asoka himself. Asoka never cared for the practice of arms and consequently there was little military ardour found among the people. The army was neglected after the Kalinga war. A big empire such as that which the predecessors of Asoka had built up, should rest not merely on sound and benevolent principles of government but also on the strength of the sword.

Cause of the decay of Mauryan Empire

Asoka's policy of investing local Rajahs with almost independent powers was extremely fatal to the political stability of the Empire. The presence within the empire of half-conquered nations such as those of the Kalingas and the Andhras was another source of weakness. With the expansion of the empire more and more towards the south and the north-west, a more and centrally-situated capital was necessary. The administration of distant provinces by the officers of Asoka was particularly oppressive and even during his time edicts had to be issued ordering the officials to be merciful towards the people. Some of these provincials had actually revolted in the time of Bindusara and Asoka. The latter's lack of control over the higher officers must have exasperated the people who were glad to get rid of the Mauryas.

Brahman Intrigue

Some scholars think that the essentially Buddhist policy of government pursued by Asoka, notwithstanding his toleration, had embittered the feelings of the Brahmans who feared that their religion was in danger, and who besides should have lost many of their former privileges. This led to a great reaction against Mauryan ascendancy which was for some time promoted in secret by the Brahmans and culminated in open revolution in the time of the later Mauryas.

Other Causes

Other causes which hastened the downfall of the Mauryan line were the weakness and ineptitude of the successors of Asoka, the loss of the northern provinces and the invasion of north-west India by the Bactrian Greeks. The Empire thus lay prostrate when Pushyamitra Sunga gave the final blow to it.

CHAPTER IV

MISCELLANEOUS DYNASTIES—

(300 B.C. TO 200 A.D.)

SECTION A. THE SUNGAS—KHARAVELA—FOREIGN ELEMENTS—KINGS OF SEMI-INDIAN ORIGIN—MENANDER—THE SAKAS AND THE KUSHANS

The Sunga Empire (184 B.C. to 72 B.C.)

Who were the Sungas? Some consider them to have been Iranians. Others think that they were Brahmans. The famous grammarian, Panini, thought that the Sungas belonged to the well-known Brahman family of Bharadvajas.

As has been stated, Pushyamitra Sunga killed Brahadratha, the last of the Mauryas, and founded a new dynasty known in history as the Sunga Dynasty. Pushyamitra is also known as Brahaspathimitra. He reigned for over thirty years. His dominions extended as far as the Narmada in the south. Perhaps the whole of the Gangetic valley belonged to him. His jurisdiction did not however extend to the Punjab. The chief events of his reign were (1) the invasion of the Greek Menander and (2) the invasion of Magadha by Kharavela. Pushyamitra came out successful in the contest both against the Greeks and the Kalinga king. Patanjali, the famous Sanskrit grammarian, was perhaps an eye-witness of the struggle between the Sunga king and Menander.

Pushyamitra

While Pushyamitra was distinguishing himself in the field of battle against the Greeks and other invaders, the Crown Prince Agnimitra was no less successful in a war against the Raja of Vidarbha. These successes justified the performance of an *Aswamedha* sacrifice by Pushyamitra. The performance of this sacrifice which had been in abeyance during the Mauryan rule indicates a period of Brahmanical revival.

Aswamedha Sacrifice

Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra who was a brave warrior. His successors, eight in number according to the *Vishnu Purana*, were all weak and wielded very little power. They left the business of the state to be managed by their Brahman ministers. Moreover they were all short-lived. The last king Devabhuti was addicted to all kinds of vice and he was murdered by his minister Vasudeva Kanva, who usurped the throne (72 B.C.). The Kanvas themselves reigned only for a very short period—(72 B.C. to 27 B.C.)

The Puranic List of the Sungas

Kharavela, as we have noticed already, was the king who invaded Magadha in the time of Pushyamitra. Kalinga was conquered, as we have seen, by Asoka, but after his death, when the Mauryan Empire began to disintegrate, Kalinga proclaimed its independence. It was ruled by the Cheta kings. Kharavela was the third king of this dynasty He made peace with Pushyamitra Sunga and probably acknowledged the Sunga as his overlord. Kharavela patronised the Jain faith. The Jains themselves called him Mahamegavahana. An inscription of Kharavela has been discovered in a cave at Udayagiri

Kharavela

from which we gather that in his days elephants were brought down from Madura to Kalinga. Kharavela died prematurely after an eventful reign of fourteen years.

Foreign Elements—Kings of Semi-Indian Origin

Seleukos Nikator, the contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya, had, as we have seen, built up an empire which included the whole of western Asia. After his death, the various provinces of that empire became independent. Two of them were Parthia and Bactria which lay north of the Hindu-Kush. In Bactria, Diodotes, a Greek general, founded a dynasty. But his son was not allowed to enjoy the throne peacefully. Euthydemos, another Greek adventurer, ousted him from the throne and reigned instead. The son of Euthydemos was Demetrius who, neglecting Bactria began to conquer the Kabul velley and portions of the Punjab and Sindh. While he was thus engaged, Bactria itself was taken possession of by one Eukratides who also, in imitation of Demetrius, conquered the western Punjab and Kabul. Thus in the latter half of the second century B. C., there were two rival Greek powers in the west of India, namely, the dynasty of Eukratides in lower Afghanistan and the dynasty of Demetrius in the easten Punjab. These Greeks were known to the Indians as Yavanas.

Menander

Demetrius ruled from Sagala, the modern Sialkot. Menander, who invaded the dominions of Pushyamitra Sunga, was a member of the house of Demetrius. Coins of Menander have been found in the Punjab and the Kabul valley. To the Buddhist he was well-known as Milinda. He was supposed to have been converted to Buddhism. A famous Pali book entitled *Milinda Panka* (questions of Milinda) contains teachings imparted to him by a Buddhist monk. The successors of Menander were not powerful. Many of them were noted, however, for the beautiful coins which they struck. These Greeks of the East Punjab were completely swallowed up by the Saka invaders by about 50 B. C.

The Kingdom of Taxila

The other Greek dynasty of Eukratides reigned in the Kabul valley and in the region of Gandhara. Their dominions extended as far east as the Jhelum. Their important cities, Pushkalavati and Taxila, were taken from them by the Sakas who, about 40 B. C., destroyed the last lingering remnants of the kingdom of Eukratides. One of the kings of Taxila was Antialcidas whose ambassador, Heliodorus, visited the king of Videsa who was probably

a Sunga. This Yavana ambassador erected a stone column in honour of Vasudeva and inscribed his name thereon calling himself a follower of Vishnu (Bhagavatha). This shows how quickly the Greeks adopted Indian faiths.

The Sakas

Besides the Greeks, other races of foreign origin entered India in the early centuries before Christ. Among them must be mentioned the Sakas and the Pahlavas. They are always mentioned together in Indian classical literature. The Sakas originally occupied the regions north of the Jaxartes river. They were nomadic in their habits. About 160 B. C. they were driven into Bactria by another horde of nomads known as the Yueh-Chi. Between 140 B. C. and 120 B. C, these Sakas overthrew Greek rule in Bactria. After bitter struggles with the Parthian power, they forced their way through Arachosia, and the Bolan Pass into the country of the lower Indus. This tract consequently came to be known as Sakadwipa. The Sakas were closely associated with the Pahlavas in the government of the various tracts conquered by them.

Saka-Pahlava Dynasties

There were two principal ruling families of Saka-Pahlavas :— (1) the family of Manes which was possibly of the Saka race and (2) the family of Vonones, which was probably Pahlava in extraction. These two families became associated with each other in a later generation. Under each of them ruled Satraps and military governors who were mostly Sakas.

The Tradition of Saint Thomas

The most notable of the Saka-Pahlava rulers who reigned at Takshasila was King Gondophares who ruled from 19 to 45 A.D. He was master of both eastern Iran and north-west India. The Apostle St. Thomas is said to have visited India in his time. The same Apostle went to the Malabar Coast and founded the early Christian Church in that region. There is a tradition which is rather difficult to prove that St. Thomas was martyred at St. Thomas' Mount near Madras. After Gondophares, the Saka-Pahlava power declined, and on its ruins, a new power arose, namely the Kushans.

Besides the main Saka-Pahlava dynasties mentioned above, there were many Saka chieftains who established themselves at Taxila, Mathura. Saurashtra and Malwa. The earliest known of

Saka Satraps

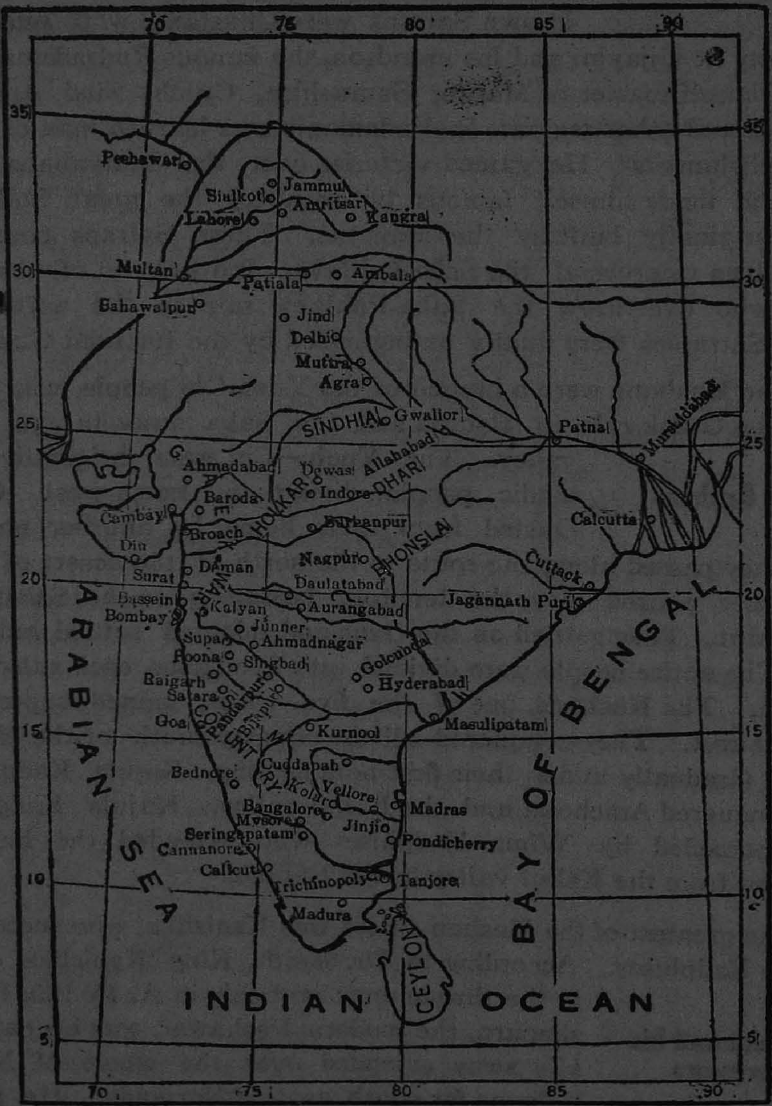
these Satraps was Bhumaka who was followed by Nahapana (A.D, 78—124) whose kingdom extended from Malwa to Nasik on the upper Godavari. Other well-known Satraps were Chastana, who established a dynasty at Ujjayini and his grandson, the famous Rudradaman, who made himself master of Malwa, Saurashtra, Cutch, Sind Aparanta, Nishada and other regions. Rudradaman was a learned man of varied accomplishments. He gained victories over the Satavahana chieftains and made himself famous by repairing the great Sudarsana Lake, originally built by the Mauryas. These Satraps considered themselves viceroys of the Saka-Pahlavas and later on of the Kushans, who overthrew the Saka-Pahlava rule in the north-west. These Satrapies were finally extinguished by the Imperial Guptas.

The Kushans

The Kushans were a branch of the Yueh-Chi people, who swept away the Greek rule in Bactria and the Saka sway in the Indus valley. The Yueh—Chi were originally a nomadic people living in north-west China. Ousted from their home by another nomadic race, they passed along the route to the north of the desert of Gobi, and finally poured into the territory belonging to the Sakas and occupied it. They settled on the Oxus and adopted settled habits of life. The entire people were divided into five tribes, each ruled by a Yavuga. The Kushans, one of the five tribes, gained supremacy over the rest. They conquered all the country south of the Hindu-Kush. Gradually under their first notable king, Kujula Kadphises, they conquered Arachosia and the Kabul valley. Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by Wima Kadphises who extended the Kushan dominion from the Kabul valley to the Punjab.

Kanishka and his Successors

The greatest of the Kushan rulers was Kanishka, who succeeded the two Kadphises. According to Dr. Smith, King Kanishka came to the throne most probably in A. D. 120. Purushapura, the modern Peshawar, was his capital. His sway extended over the whole of North India as far south as the Narmada. He probably conquered Kashmir. His greatest exploit was, the conquest of Yarkhand, Kashgar and Khotan from the Chinese. He convened in Kashmir a great Buddhist General Council which settled the disputes among the various sects and purified the Buddhist Canon of error. His spiritual adviser was the famous Buddhist saint Asvagosha, whom he brought with him from Pataliputra when he invested that place. Another great scholar who took part in the religious discus-



MAP OF INDIA

Showing the Kushan Empire and other Kingdoms.

sion was Vasumitra who composed the *Mahavibhasha* (an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy). While Kanishka embraced Buddhism late in his reign, he showed equal tolerance to other gods and faiths in his country. His Buddhism was the Mahayana in which the Buddha himself was worshipped as a god. Kanishka would appear to have met with a violent death. He was succeeded by his son Huvishka, a patron of Buddhism, but one who had an eclectic taste for a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities. His successor Vasudeva embraced Brahmanism. His coins show the figure of Siva attended by Nandi. After Vasudeva, the Kushan power decayed. The White Huns, who poured into India swept away Kushan rule from Kabul. The Nagas, a race of serpent-worshippers, would also appear to have brought about the disruption of Kushan rule in India. .(Middle of the third century A. D.)

The New Buddhism

After Asoka, Buddhism ceased to be the national faith which it was in his time. About the second century A. D., a great change also took place in its essential doctrines. The Sakas and the Yueh-Chi who entered India and established dominions embraced Buddhism and gave it a new form. The Buddha was worshipped as a deity. The Buddha himself did not care to trouble himself about the existence of God and hence this new type of Buddhism is a radical change from primitive Buddhism. The Chinese called the new Buddhism as "*The Mahayana*" or the great vehicle, while the older system was called "*The Hinayana*" or the lesser vehicle. In this new faith which was largely promoted by Kanishka, images representing the Buddha and the Bodhisattva were habitually worshipped. Buddhist ritual was elaborated and there was a tendency to rely on formulae and charms. Scholars think that Mahayanism developed under the influence of foreign faiths like Christianity und Zoroastrianism.

Art

This new faith expressed itself in the art and the literature of the times. As the Buddha was now worshipped as a god, images were made of the Buddha which looked like those of Appollo, or Zeus. As Dr. V. A. Smith rightly says, "the forms of Greek art were applied to Buddhist subjects with considerable artistic success in many cases." Kanishka himself brought Greek artists from Asia Minor to decorate his buildings and shrines. The production of these foreign artists and of their Indian imitators still cover the region of Gandhara. Indeed a new School of Art known as the Gandhara

School came into existence after the days of Kanishka. The ideals of this school were those of the Graeco-Roman art which travelled through Persia and Khotan to the Indian frontier region. The Gandhara style continued to dominate the minds of Indian sculptors in those regions for a long time.

Trade

In the time of the Sakas and the Kushans there was brisk trade between India and the West. Indian trade with Rome was stimulated by the suppression of piracy in the Red sea and in the Indian Ocean by the Romans and the knowledge of the regular monsoon winds acquired by the Greek mariner Hippalus (*cir.* 45 A.D.). It should be remembered also that the empire of the Kushans in the early centuries of the Christian era touched the Persian and the Chinese empires, thus facilitating trade along the land routes from North-West India to the Mediterranean. The Romans, ever fond of pearls, silks and spices, began to demand and take them in. India in return received a large quantity of Roman gold. Western writers like Pliny complained of the drain of Roman gold in return for unproductive luxuries from the East. The Kushan and the Saka monarchs imitated or restruck Roman coins.

SECTION B. EARLY HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA—THE TAMILS AND THE ANDHRAS

The Term South India

The term South India is used in this section to indicate the portion of Peninsular India lying to the south of the Krishna. It includes three well marked divisions, the narrow coastal strip between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, a border strip of plain between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal and the elevated land between the two Ghats.

Tamilakam

The land of the Tamils extended from the Tirupathi hill, about one hundred miles north-west of Madras, to Cape Comorin, and from the Coromandel coast to the Arabian Sea. In ancient times it was divided into thirteeen *Nadus* or provinces. Some of these coalesced together to form big kingdoms. Within this tract existed three very ancient and powerful kingdoms, namely, the Pandya, the Chola and the Kerala or the Chera. If the epic *Mahabarata* is to be believed one of the ancient Chera kings fed the armies that fought in the Bharata war. This shows that the Tamil kingdoms were as

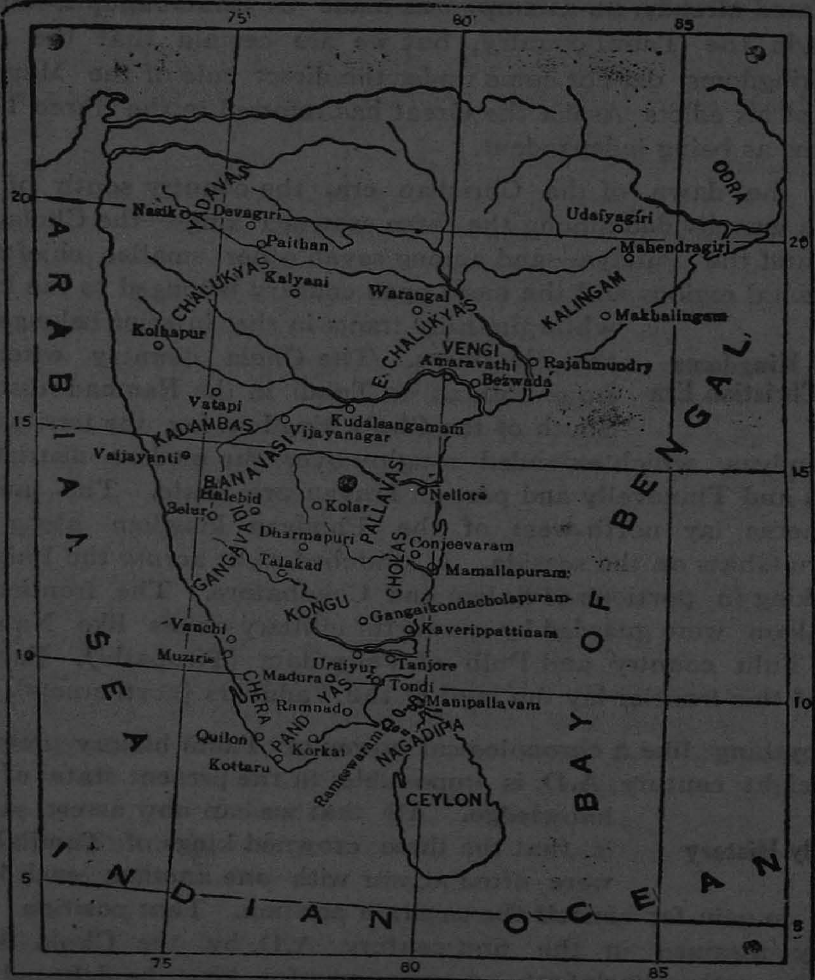
old as the *Mahabarata.* Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador, who visited the court of Chandragupta Maurya, refers to a Pandyan queen who, according to him was a daughter of Herakles. He further says that the Pandyans possessed a huge and very efficient army. As has been stated already, an attempt was made by Chandragupta Maurya to invade the Tamil country, but we are certain that the three Tamil kingdoms did not come under the direct rule of the Mauryas. In one of his edicts Asoka the Great has referred to the three Tamil kingdoms as being independent.

At the dawn of the Christian era, the country south of the Krishna was divided among the three crowned kings—the Chola, the Chera, and the Pandya—and among seven other smaller chieftains. The coastal regions and the more open country belonged to the kings while the hilly tracts in rhe interior belonged to the chieftains. The Chola country extended from Pulicat to Tondi in the Ramnad district. South of the Chola kingdom lay the territory of the Pandyas, which extended roughly over the modern district of Madura and Tinnevelly and part of Travancore State. The land of the Cheras lay north-west of the Pandyan kingdom along the Western Ghats on the seaside. It stretched right across the Palghat Gap taking in portions of Salem and Coimbatore. The frontiers of Tamilakam were guarded by powerful military chiefs like Nannan of the Tulu country and Pulli of Vengadam (Tirupathi). Further north of this frontier lay the land of the Vadukars (northerners).

Tamil Kingdoms in the Christian Era

Anything like a chronological survey of Tamil history previous to the eight century A.D. is impossible in the present state of our knowledge. All that we can now assert safely is that the three crowned kings of Tamilakam were often at war with one another, each king aiming to gain for himself the suzerain position. That position was actually attained in the first century A.D. by the Chola king Karikala or the Black-foot. A very powerful king, he defeated the Cheras and the Pandyas in a decisive battle. He enlarged the Chola dominion, transferred the capital from Worayur in the Trichinopoly district to Kavaripattinam at the mouth of the Kaveri, and made the Chola name respected all over Tamilakam, and even beyond. He is best remembered for the building of flood-banks for the Kaveri. By an ingenious system of canals he made it possible for the entire volume of the Kaveri water to be utilised for irrigation purposes. According to the early Tamil poets,

Early History



MAP OF SOUTH INDIA AND THE DECCAN
Showing the Kingdoms upto 1300 A.D.

he invaded Ceylon and brought away thousands of prisoners to work on the Kaveri embankments. He was also a great patron of letters. This position of superiority which the Chola king obtained in the first century A.D. was lost in the time of his successors owing to the destruction of the port of Kaverippatinam by a huge tidal wave.

The Red Chera

After Karikala, the Cheras under their able leader and warrior Senguttuvan, the Red Chera (second century A.D.) established a hegemony which did not however, survive him long. According to the Sangham literature, the son and successor of the Red Chera was defeated in battle and taken prisoner by the Pandyan king Nedunjeliyan. The Pandyas therefore attained the position held earlier by the Cheras and held the hegemony in their hands for several generations. In the meantime, a new power arose in Peninsular India which was to overshadow the traditional Tamil powers. This was the rise of the Pallavas.

Social Condition of the Ancient Tamils

Although we do not know in detail the political history of the early Tamils, we can understand a good deal about their life and thought. The ancient Tamils were very hospitable to strangers and their ethical principles were pitched very high. Women enjoyed great freedom and they mixed freely in society. The Tamils were good architects. In the field of poetry and the plastic arts they exhibited an original bent of mind. The literature of the Tamils is pregnant with allusions to the seafaring and commercial activities of the people. From the earliest times they traded with the Chalcadeans and Babylonians. Their ships boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal and went to Burma, Malaya, Siam, Java, Sumatra and China. Indian muslins exported from Tamil India were found wrapped round the mummies of Egypt. The Greeks obtained their rice and pepper from the Tamils as their names for these *cryza* and *pippali*, clearly indicate. At the dawn of the Christian era, there was great trade between Tamil India and the Mediterranean. Roman coins in a perfect state of preservation have been found in many places in South India, The choice cotton goods of South India were admired for their texture and purchased in large quantities by the Romans. Indeed Tamil literature has a reference to thirty-six different kinds of cloth either woven in the Tamil Nadu or imported from various foreign centres of production.

Religion

In their primitive age the Tamils were tree and serpent worshippers. In later times they adopted many gods of the Aryan system, such as India, Varuna, Vishnu, etc. But Muruga (later identified with Subramanya) seems to be essentially a Dravidian deity. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Jainism and Buddhism were widely prevalent in the Tamil country. There was perfect religious toleration among the Tamils.

Tamil Literature

It is admitted readily that the Tamils were the earliest to possess a literature of their own. Tradition ascribes the perfection of the language to Sage Agasthya, who led a Brahman migration to the extreme south of India about the seventh century B.C. There existed in Madura a famous academy known as the Tamil Sangham consisting of very learned men. To this august body belonged the saintly Tiruvalluvar, the famous author of the *Kural*, Ilango Adigal, the author of the *Silappadhikaram*, and Sattanar, the author of the *Manimekalai*. The Madura Sangham flourished according to some in the second century A.D.

The Andhras—Early History

The Andhras were among the most civilised peoples of whom the earliest mention is to be found in the *Aitareya Brahmana*. They were originally living in the northeast of the Deccan and possessed considerable power. Pliny, the Roman author, mentions that the Andhras in the Mauryan epoch possessed thirty walled cities and a very large army. Their capital was Srikakulam, on the lower course of the Krishna. In the days of Asoka they were subject to his imperial control. Nevertheless they enjoyed a large degree of autonomy. After the death of Asoka, the Andhras secured their independence and rose as a great power. Under their able king Simukha (last quarter of the third century B.C.,) they established a dynasty called the Satavahana dynasty. Second in succession from Simukha was Sri Satakarni who figures in the famous Nanaghat inscription. This shows that the early Andhra kings brought the whole of Berar, the Central Provinces and the Hyderabad State under their control. In the middle of the second century B.C., the Satavahana kings were in possession of Vidisa and Ujjayini. Little is known of the subsequent history of the Andhras till we reach the year 28 B.C. when an Andhra king Kuntalala Swatikarna invaded Magadha and killed the last of the Kanvas. The next famous Andhra ruler was Gautamiputra Satakarni (109 A.D. ?) who exter-

minated the Saka Satraps in the west, of whom mention has been made already. In tke time of his son Vasishtiputra Sri Pulumavi (135 to 163 A.D.) the Saka chief Rudradaman regained much of his lost possessions. Yajna Sri was the last important ruler of the Andhras. After him the power of the Andhras decayed.

Causes of Decay

The Andhra empire was governed by military chiefs who after Pulumavi became practically independent. These military chiefs were of Naga origin, and were called variously as Maharathis, Nagas and Chutus. One of these chiefs was the Chutu who exercised sway over Banavasi. As a result of a marriage alliance with this chief, the Pallavas obtained what were once the southern provinces of the Andhra empire. Another cause for the decay of the Andhra empire is to be sought in the series of foreign invasions in the second century A.D., such as those of the Sakas and the Abhiras, a race of cowherds.

The Early Pallavas

We have just seen how the Pallavas became masters of the southern portions of the Andhra empire. Who were these Pallavas? Scholars differ in their account of their origin. Some believe that the Pallavas were a foreign tribe of Parthian origin who migrated from the north-west, right down to Conjeevaram. Others contend that the Pallavas were natives of South India and that they were ethnically related to the Kallars or thieves of the Tamil country. Whatever may be the truth about their origin it cannot be denied that they succeeded to the whole of the southern portion of the Andhra empire. The first Pallava who assumed all signs of royalty was Virakurcha. His greatness and power were derived from his marrying the daughter of a Naga chief who was the lord of Tondamandalam.

Periods of Pallava Rule

A number of charters in Prakrit and Sanskrit issued by the successors of Virakurcha have been found. From these inscriptions we gather that in the formative period of Pallava history (third to sixth century A.D.) the Pallava dominions comprised the territory extending from Kanchi to Vengi and the districts of Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Bellary. From the same charters it is evident that the Pallava administration was northern in character. We shall study in a later chapter about the most glorious period of Pallava history, namely, the dynasty of Simhavishnu.

CHAPTER V

THE GUPTA EMPIRE—(300 to 600 A.D.)

SECTION A.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The period from 320 to 480 A.D- is the greatest and most glorious period in the history of Hindu India. It was during this period that the Guptas built up an empire second only to that of the Mauryas. It was also the age of the Hindu Renaissance when the latent genius of the Hindus found its fullest expression in the domain of art and poetry, science and architecture.

The Age of the Gupta

The origin of the Guptas is lost in obscurity. About the second century A.D., a Maharajah Sri Gupta was the ruler of Magadha. Ghatotkacha was one of his successors and his son Chandragupta I was the real founder of the Gupta imperial line. A great statesman and warrior, he strengthened his position by marrying Kumara Devi, a Lichchhavi princess, and to her he owed his imperial position. The fact that he owed his greatness to his Lichchhavi wife is indicated by the coins, which he struck, containing on the obverse the figures of himself and his wife. Early in his career he conquered the countries comprising the present provinces of Bihar and Oudh. It appears he also founded an era called the Gupta era in order to commemorate the establishment of his empire. The Gupta era starts roughly with the year 320 after Christ.

The Origin of the Dynasty

Although Chandragupta I had many sons, he selected the bravest and wisest among them to succeed him. This was the famous Samudragupta. His great ambition was to imitate the example of the great Mauryan emperors and include within his dominions those tribes and countries which had been subject to Asoka. With this object he undertook a great *Digvijaya.* First he attacked the country south of Kosala which was ruled by Mahendra. Next he subdued Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara, a forest country adjoining the Kosala country. One Manta Raja in the Kalinga Desa, the modern Orissa, was next subdued by him. Other cities which he brought under his sway were Pishtapura, the modern Pithapur, and Kottur near Mahendragiri, Damana of Erandapali, Vishnugopa of Kanchi, a

Samudragupta

Pallava ruler, Nila Raja of Avamukta (not yet identified), Hasthivarman of Vengi (near Ellore), Ugrasena of Palaka (in the lower regions of the Krishna), and Kubhera of Daivarashtra (Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district) had all to acknowledge Samudragupta's suzerainty. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions that the Gupta monarch undertook a similar expedition against the chiefs and kings of Aryavarta. At the conclusion of his conquests Samudragupta performed, the Aswamedha sacrifice on which occasion he also issued a medal bearing the legend 'King of Kings having conquered the world conquers Heaven—the unopposed warrior.' Samudragupta's empire thus extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and the Chambal on the west and from the foot of the Himalayas to the Narmada on the south. Samudragupta was not only a man of war but also a great patron of learning and he himself was a great poet and musician.

Chandragupta II—Vikramaditya—375-413 A.D.

Samudragupta was succeeded by one of his sons who assumed the name of Chandragupta. He is known in history as Chandragupta II—Vikramaditya. He was a great diplomat. He gave his daughter Prabhavati in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vakataka king of the Deccan, and thus won his friendship and alliance which were of great use to him in extending his conquest further west. He attacked the Saka Satraps in the west and took possession of Malwa, Gujarat and Saurashtra. One result of these conquests was that Ujjayini, the chief city in Malwa and famous as a centre of learning, became a sort of second capital to the empire. It also served as a connecting link between the west coast and the heart of Aryavarta.

Fa-Hien the Chinese Pilgrim—405-411 A.D.

In the time of Chandragupta II, there came to India a Chinese pilgrim called Fa-Hien who stayed in the country for six years, visiting various centres of religious activity. His main object was the collection of manuscripts and holy relics relating to Buddhism. From his many observations regarding the condition of Buddhism, we gather some idea of the state of the Gupta empire in the fifth century A.D. The pilgrim stayed for three years at Pataliputra, the capital city, and admired very much the great palace which Asoka had built. Referring to Magadha, Fa-Hien says that the people were rich and very prosperous and they vied with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. According to him Buddhism flourished near Mathura and along the course of the Jumna, though everywhere there were signs of Brah-

manical revival. The pilgrim noted with satisfaction that the administration of the country of Malwa was mild and immensely popular. Though certain parts were prosperous, several localities connected with early Buddhism were in ruins or in the process of decay. Thus Buddha Gaya was being slowly swallowed up by the jungle. Saravasti was in ruins and Kapilavastu and Kusinagara were deserted by the people. Regarding the general condition of the people he says: "The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal lands have to pay a portion of the grain from it. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay (*i. e.*, there were no passport regulations for travellers). The king governs without decapitation or (other) corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants are all paid salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Chandalas." Fa-Hien left India in 411 A. D.

Art and Culture

The period of Chandragupta is notable for the revival of Brahmanism and Sanskrit literature. The Guptas were patrons of Hindu learning in all its branches. Many of the Puranas were undoubtedly revised and edited in the time of the first three Guptas. The nine gems or *Navaratnas* of Sanskrit literature are supposed to have formed part of the court of Chandragupta II—Vikramaditya. One of the nine gems was of course the immortal Kalidasa the author of *Sakuntala*. It seems certain that Aryabhatta, the great astronomer, flourished in the later Gupta period. The Guptas encouraged secular learning irrespective of the race or faith of the authors. In the field of architecture and painting also, this age was as rich as in the domain of literature. The art of the Gupta period is evidenced in some of the halls and chapels of the famous Abbey of Ajanta, one of the great Universities of the time. "The fragments of the wonderful frescoes still remaining on the walls," says Havell, "are not only masterpieces of painting but both in their vivid imagination and in their realistic portrayal of contemporary life, they give a striking impression of the masterful creative impulses which were then stirring the mind of India."

The later Guptas and the Huns

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumaragupta (415 to 455 A. D.) and in his time the empire was seriously disturbed by the invasion of the Pushyamitras, perhaps a confederated northern tribe, possessing vigour and skill in arms. The empire would have collapsed but for the energy of the crown prince Skandagupta, who defeated the enemy and retrieved the falling fortunes of his house. Kumaragupta died in 455 A. D. and was succeeded by his son, Skandagupta. It was in his time that the Huns, a race of foreign nomads, invaded India. Although Skandagupta first drove them out, yet they came back and dealt such a heavy blow to the empire that it did not recover its former greatness again. Notwithstanding reverses, Skandagupta retained hold of the whole of Northern India including Gujarat and Kathiawar. The successors of Skandagupta were Puragupta and Narasimhagupta Baladitya. The latter dfed about 473 A. D. and was succeeded by his son, Kumaragupta II (476-477 A. D.). The greatness of the Gupta disappears from this time and "the imperial line passes by an obscure transition into a dynasty comprising eleven Gupta princes who appear to have been for the most part merely local rulers in Magadha."

The Maukharis and the Gaudas

The Maukharis had their seat of power in the Upper Ganges valley and were at first mere feudatories of the Guptas. Later on, taking advantage of the rapidly shrinking power of the Guptas, they rose to sovereign power. The Gaudas were a west Bengal people and by their skill and valour proved themselves indispensable to the Guptas. It was these Gaudas that ultimately broke up the Gupta empire. In the first half of the eighth century A. D., a Gauda king occupied the Magadhan throne. At the beginning of the ninth century A. D. Magadha passed under the sway of the Pala kings of Bengal.

The Huns

The Huns, who destroyed the Gupta empire, deserve our notice, They were a race of foreign nomads and they came from the steppee of Central Asia. Owing to economic causes ths entire race was compelled to desert their original home and seek fresh pastures. The entire people divided themselves into two streams, one proceeding towards the valley of the Oxus and the other towards the region of the Volga. Those who went towards the Oxus are known to history as the White Huns. They crossed the Oxus about 420 A.D. and from then they were a source of constant danger to the kingdom of Persia and

the neighbouring regions. In 484 A. D. these Huns defeated King Feroz of Persia and killed him. The defeat of Persia opened the gates of India to these Huns. They next assailed the Kushan kingdom in Kabul. In 458 A. D. they made an unsuccessful attempt to attack the Gupta empire. Ten years later they again came in greater numbers and dealt such heavy blows to the empire that it lay prostrate. The leader of this force was a Hun chief known as Toramana. He established himself as the ruler of Malwa in Central India. Perhaps he became master of a considerable part of Northern India. It is quite possible that Kashmir also formed part and parcel of his empire.

Mihiragula

Toramana was succeeded by his son Mihiragula whose headquarters were at Bamyin near Herat; for, it must be remembered that India was one of the many provinces of the Hun empire. Mihiragula was one of the most powerful sovereigns of India and he was regarded with terror by the people. This oppressor of mankind was, however, defeated in battle, and imprisoned by one Yosodharman a little before 433 A.D. The Hun empire in India did not survive long after this defeat. The extinction of the Hun power in India led to the establishment of powerful kingdoms in the west and northwest of India. Of these the most important was that of the Miatrakas who became a great power in Western India. Although the Hun empire in India was destroyed, detached bands of Huns continued to stay in the country. They mixed with the people finding no difficulty in securing wives from the best Indo-Aryan families.

The Decline of Buddhism

We have already seen that in the days of Fa-Hien Buddhism had begun to decline. In the Gupta period it was Brahmanism that was in the ascendant. The Guptas themselves favoured the Puranic gods. Rituals and festivals connected with the worship of these gods were elaborated during this period and they appealed much more to the popular mind than the simple teachings of the Buddha. Both Buddhism and Brahmanism adopted wholesale aboriginal superstitions to win the masses and in this race Brahmanism came out triumphant. Brahmanism itself assimilated slowly but silently some of the soundest principles of Buddhism and even adopted similar methods in preaching the new religion to the people. The old rigours of caste were relaxed and the casteless foreigners like the Sakas, the Western Satrapas and the Hunas were so coaxed and flattered that they readily embraced the new Hinduism. The cults

of Vishnu, Siva, Chandi and the Sun became widespread and popular. As compared with Brahmanism, Buddhism itself was showing signs of decay. It was split up into innumerable sects each with its own special literature. Several minor kings of North as well as South India preferred Jainism to Buddhism. The character of the Buddha Bhaikkhanis (female ascetics) underwent serious degradation. According to one author these female ascetics were mentioned in the contemporary literature along with public women. Buddhism also incorporated within itself Sakti worship and many foul rites were performed within its fold. The Buddhist monks also became hopeslessly immoral. But by far the most important cause that brought about, at any rate in South India, the decline of Buddhism was the rise of the Saiva Nayanars and the Vaishnava Alwars about whose activities we shall read presently.

Saiva and Vaishnava Cults in South India

From about the second century A. D. there grew up in South India two schools of Bhakti—Saivism and Vaishnavism. "Saivism consists in the recognition of Siva as the supreme beneficent deity," endowed with the qualities of protection, creation and destruction. The founders of this School were known as Nayanmars, men of saintly character, whose love for Siva knew no bounds. Saiva canonical literature recognises sixty three of them. The more important of these were Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Manikavasakar. The hymns and songs of these saints are soul-stirring. They constantly peregrinated the country creating unbounded enthusiasm among their followers and condemning other faith, especially Buddhism and Jainism. The collected songs of the first three saints mentioned above are known as the *Thevaram*, while the works of the fourth saint are called the *Thiruvachakam*. The Nayanmar-flourished roughly in the age of the Pallavas (second to ninth century A. D.) The age of the Vaishnava Alvars, twelve in number, extends from about 200 A.D. to 800 A.D. These twin schools of the Bhakti movement combined their forces to destroy Jainism and Buddhism in the land. After these saints, came the great Acharyas such as Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhava. It was the missionary work of Sankara that led to the downfall of Buddhism in North India. In the eleventh century Ramanuja, the great reformer, succeeded in organizing Vaishnavism on a permanent footing.

CHAPTER VI

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

SECTION A. THE EPOCH OF HARSHA

One effect of the Hun invasion and settlement was the disappearance of the old kingdoms and the rise of new ones. Of the later, the kingdom of Valabhi in Eastern Kathiawar was one.

The Rise of new Kingdoms

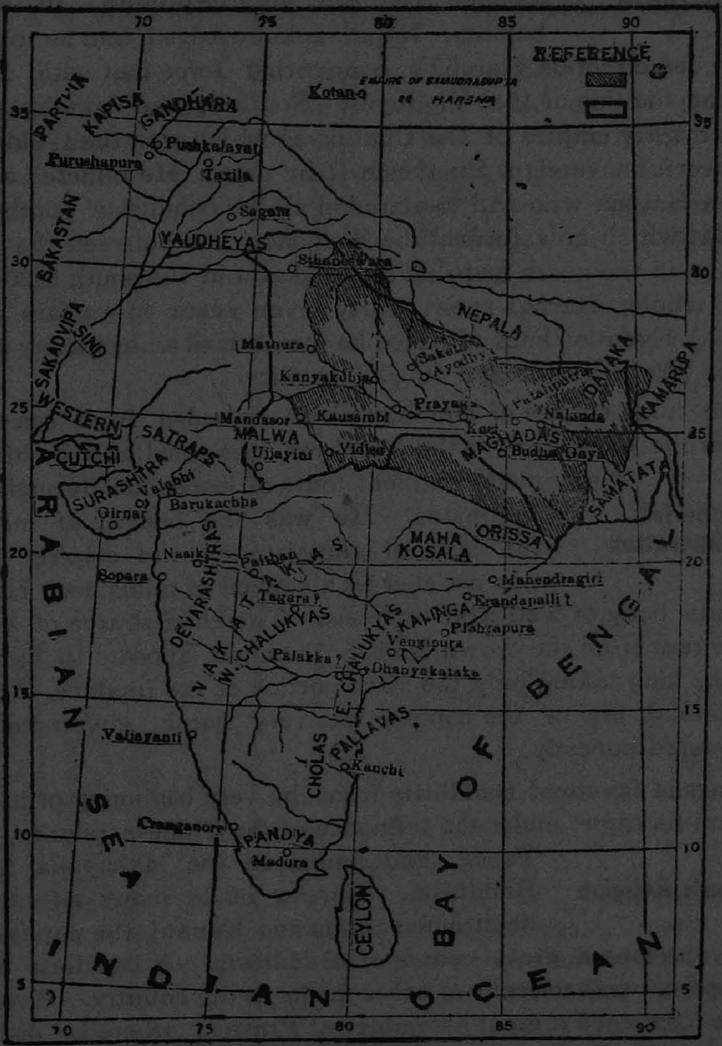
It was ruled by the Maitraka dynasty alleged to have been of Hunnish origin. This kingdom founded by one Bataraka lasted till the eighth century A.D. There were also separate kingdoms in Kashmir, Sind, the Kabul country and the Punjab. The Kurjaras, a tribe of Hunnish affinities, established states at Bhilmal in Rajputana, and at Broach on the Gulf of Cambay. The most prominent of these kingdoms was the one established by the Maukharis at Kanauj. These Maukharis were closely related to the Guptas of Magadha. Grihavarman, one of the Maukari kings, was the brother-in-law of the famous Harshavardhana and we shall concern ourselves chiefly with his history here.

Near the holy ground of Kurukshetra at Thanesvar, where the Saraswati still flows, there was established in the sixth century, a

Harsha

small state ruled by petty Rajas. One of the rulers of this state was Prabhakaravardhana. who not only drove away the Huns but subdued the lawless Lats in Gujarat and Malwa. He was also known as Pratayasila. Dying in the midst of the campaign against the Huns, he was succeeded by his eldest son Rajyavardhana, who won great victories over the Huns. Harshavardhana was Rajyavardhana's younger brother. The brothers fought against a king of Malwa to avenge their sister Rajyasri, whose husband Grihavarman, the Maukari king already mentioned, had been killed by him. In the attempt, Rajyavardhana was treacherously murdered by Sasanka, king of Central Bengal. Harsha had to wage war both against the Malwa and the Central Bengal kings. His first expedition was towards the Vindhyas, where he rescued, just in the nick of time, his widowed sister, who was about to burn herself to death.

For the next six years, 606 to 612 A.D., Harsha was engaged in incessant warfare. During this period he conquered " the five Indies'



MAP OF INDIA

Showing the Gupta and the Harsha Empires

which were stated to be the Punjab, Kanauj, Gauda (Bengal), Mithila and Orissa. Harsha seems to have reduced Valabhi in the west as well as Sind. The king of Assam sought his alliance from the very beginning. In all probability, Nepal acknowledged him as overlord. Only in one direction Harsha's conquering force met with disaster. It was on the line of the Vindhyas. South of the Vindhyas there was the mighty empire of the Chalukyas which was then ruled by a very powerful sovereign, Pulakesin II by name. He inflicted a severe defeat on Harsha who had to abandon all his conquests south of the Narmada which now formed the boundary line between the empire of Harsha in the north and that of Pulakesin in the south (620 A.D.?) On the whole, Harsha spent thirty-seven years in warfare (606 to 643 A.D.) Even in times of peace he maintained a huge army consisting of 60,000 elephants and 100,000 cavalry.

His Digvijaya

The huge empire of Harsha which extended from sea to sea and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, was ruled ably by him. He made frequent tours of inspection throughout his dominions. He was the busiest of men. In the task of administering the empire, Harsha was assisted by a council of ministers. He had a numerous body of well-paid officials. The chief source of revenue was the rent from the crown lands. Taxation appears to have been light, the king taking only the sixth portion of the produce. Although the criminal law of the country was very harsh, government was administered honestly.

Imperial Adminstration

Harsha favoured Buddhism from the very beginning of his reign. Later on he came under the influence of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, and embraced the Mahayana form of Buddhism. Harsha made many gifts to Buddhist monasteries and Kanauj, the capital of the empire, became a great centre of Buddhism. A Buddhist himself, the emperor was tolerant of other faiths in the country. Every fifth year he convened a great assembly at Prayaga where he distributed all his wealth in charity. Like Asoka he also constructed highways and hospitals and supplied medicines free to the poor.

Harsha's Religion

Harsha was a great patron of learning and of learned men. He himself was a great poet, and composed a Buddhist drama, the *Nagananda*. Bana, the author of the *Harshacharita* and the *Kadambari*, was his favourite court poet. Harsha died before

Harsha and Learning

648 A.D., and after his death, the land was plunged into serious disorder.

From time to time learned men from China used to visit India, the land which gave birth to the Buddha. Fa-Hien was one of them, and as we have seen already, he visited India in the time of Chandragupta II—Vikramaditya. The next great Chinese pilgrim to visit India was Hiuen-Tsang, a great Doctor of learning. He was perhaps the most celebrated of all the Chinese pilgrims who visited India. He spent about fifteen years in our country, and he returned home with many Buddhist relics and a number of manuscripts dealing with Buddhism. He travelled over almost every part of India except the extreme south and he recorded his impressions of what he had seen in his book "*Records of the Western World*". The writings of Hiuen-Tsang form an important source of information for the reign of Harsha.

Hiuen-Tsang

His Account of Harsha

Hiuen-Tsang came in intimate contact with Harsha and was indeed his adviser in all matters connected with religion. The learned Chinese Doctor notes that Buddhism was showing sings of decline as Brahmanism was regaining its importance. Nevertheless, according to him, there existed many notable Buddhist monasteries where learning was preserved. Among the more famous of such monasteries were the Mahabodhi monastery at Buddha Gaya and the great monastery of Nalanda tenanted by more than 10,000 students and 1,500 teachers. Here is what the Doctor says about the life of the people which should be interesting reading :—

"The quadrangular walls of the cities are broad and high, and the thoroughfares narrow and tortuous. The shops are on the highways and booths line the streets. Butchers, fishermen and scavengers live outside the city. Most of the city walls are built of bricks and walls of houses and enclosures of wattled bamboos or wood. Their halls have wooden flat-roofed rooms and are coated with chunam and covered with tiles, burnt or unburnt. Houses thatched with grass are of bricks or boards. The floor is purified with cow-dung and strewn with flowers. The rafters and roof beams of monasteries (and of temples) are carved with strange figures and the doors are painted in various colours. They have towers in the four corners and three high halls in a tier. People sit on corded benches. They wear untailored clothes of silk, linen or wool, mostly undyed, belts are not worn.

"The Kshatriyas and Brahmans are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal. Kings and grandees wear garlands and tiaras of precious stones, rings, bracelets and neclaces. Wealthy merchants wear only bracelets. People go barefoot and shoes are rare. They stain their teeth red or black and bore their ears. They are pure of themselves ; and not from compulsion. Before every

meal they must have a wash ; the fragments and remains are now served up again ; the food utenslis are not passed on ; those of pottery or wood, thrown away after use, and of gold, silver, copper or iron get another polishing. They smear their bodies with scented unguents such as sandal and saffron. When the king goes to his bath, there is music of drums, stringed instruments and song ; then worship is performed.

"There are men, learned in the antique lore, who live in seclusion, leading lives of continence, away from human affairs. They are not moved by honour or reproach, and their fame is far-spread. The rulers treat them with ceremony and respect, cannot make them come to court. Though their families be in affluent circumstances, they get their food by begging. Forgetting fatigue they learn the arts and sciences seeking for wisdom, while relying on perfect virtue ; they count not 1000 li (60 yojanas) a long journey. As to those who lead dissipated idle lives and are extravagant in dress, as such men have no moral excellences and are without accomplishments, shame and disgrace come on them and their ill-repute is spread abroad. The members of each caste marry within the caste and a woman never contracts a second marriage.

"Everyone who is attacked by sickness has his food cut off for seven days ; in this interval the patient recovers, but if he does not, he takes medicine. Their medicines are of various kinds and each has a specific name. When people die, they rend their clothes and tear their hair, strike their brows and beat their breast. There is no distinctive mourning costume ; they burn their dead or float them on a stream or throw them in the woods to feed wild animals. Very old people afflicted by ncurable disease and contemptuous of life, formally take leave of their relatives with musical entertainments and throw themselves into the Ganga. The Kshatriyas drink the wines from the vine and the sugar-cane ; the Vaisyas strong spirits ; Brahmanas and Baudhas, syrups. Those who eat the flesh of oxen, pigs, dogs, horses, elephants, etc., become Pariahs. The people are of pure moral principle ; they do not practice deceit and they keep up their own obligations. There are nine degrees in the etiquette of salutation."

SECTION B

THE RAJPUT CLANS AND KINGDOMS

India after Harsha

The death of Harsha was a signal for general disruption in North India. After his time there arose no great Hindu empire in the north. The land became a prey to warring kingdoms and tribes. It is now that we hear of the rise of the Rajput clans, and their domination lasted for several centuries. Even after the Muhammadan conquest of India, the Rajputs were in the enjoyment of large political power in the regions of Central India, Malwa, Rajputana and on the slopes of the Himalayas.

Origin of the Rajputs

Who were these Rajputs? Tod, the great historian of Rajasthan, supposed that they were of Scythian descent. Many Western writers adopting his view, have emphasized that. the Rajput clans had foreign blood in them But the Rajputs themselves claim descent from the ancient heroes of the epics. A few clans claim descent from the sacrificial fire of Brahma in Mount Abu. According to the famous legend of the Agnikula, the Parihars, the Ponwars, the Solankis (Chalukyas) and the Chauhans, the most famous of the Rajput clans, sprang out of the couldron of fire on Mount Abu. This is Brahmanic invention or bardic fiction. The facts seems to be that when chief of foreign origin made India their permanent home, Brahman priests very cleverly brought them into the fold of Hinduism by assigning *gotras* and castes to them. Although it is quite possible to find a small substratum of pure Kshatriya tribes among the Rajputs the bulk of them were undoubted . ly foreign immigrants into Rajputana and countries of the west. We may, therefore, well agree with Dr. Smith who says: "Thus the Kshatriya or Rajput group of castes is at present essentially an occupational group composed of all clans following the Hindu ritual who actually undertook tke work of government. Consequently, people of most diverse races were and are jumped together as Rajputs; and most of the great Rajput clans now in existence, in spite of their hoary pedigrees are descended either from foreign immigrants or from indigenous races such as the Gonds and Bhars."

The Golden Age of the Rajputs

The tenth, the eleventh and the twelfth centuries were the golden age of Rajput civilisation. Although public and private wars were the fashion of the age yet trade prospered. Poets, bards and learned men went to the courts of kings and were generously patronised by them. The age was also rich in art and literature. It produced great writers like Bhavabhuti, the author of *Malati-Madhava*; the poet king Bhoja of Malwa; the historian, Kalhana of Kashmir; and Chand, the prince of bards and author of the epic the *Chand Raisa*. It was during this period that the great Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila flourished. Monastic institutions like the one at Dhara, the capital of Malwa, shed learning and lustre throughout the country. Let us now learn about the chief Rajput kingdoms and local dynasties of North India.

THE RAJPUT KINGDOMS

1. Kashmir

In the time of Asoka, Kashmir was included in the Mauryan empire. In the reign of Harsha, Kashmir practically attained its independence under Durilabhavardhana, who founded the Karkota dynasty. Some of his successors improved the country by constructing useful irrigation works and also extended their power. Mention must be made of Lalitaditya (*cir.* 725—752, A. D.), who defeated the powerful Yasovarman of Kanauj and also built the famous temple of Martanda and Avantivarman (855—883 A. D.), famous for his irrigation works. Later rulers of Kashmir were most of them, worthless tyrants "who gloried in shameless lust fiendish cruelty and pitiless mis-rule." We gather a good deal about these kings from the *Rajatarangini*, a history of Kashmir, written by Kalhana in the twelth century A. D. Kashmir continued to exist as an independent power till 1339 A. D., when it was overthrown by the Muhammadans.

2. Nepal

Nepal extends along the lower Himalayas from Sikkim to the Kumaon districts. Strictly speaking, the name applies to a small valley enclosing Kathamandu and other towns. It was at one time, tributary, to Samudragupta. In the time of Harsha, the Thakuri dynasty was founded by one Amsuvarman (died 642 A. D.) A new dynasty, far more successful in its aims, was founded probably in 879 A. D. But Nepal was a prey to constant change of dynasties, ever in a state of mutual strife. About 1768 A. D., a Khattri tribe from Oudh, known as the Gurkhas occupied the country and founded a powerful dynasty. Buddhism was introduced into the country by Asoka; but it soon degenerated. A corrupt form of Buddhism survives in Nepal even to-day.

3. Assam

The ancient name of Assam was Kamarupa. In the days of Samudragupta it was tributary to the Guptas. In the time of Harsha, one Kumara Bhaskaravarman was reigning there. It was later on conquered by the Palas of Bengal. In the thirteenth century the Shan tribe of the Ahomas occupied the land. They gave their name to the land and continued to govern it till the British occupation in 1825 A. D.

Kingdoms of the Interior

We shall now briefly review the History of the great Rajput powers that flourished in the Indo-Gangetic basin, *viz*,, the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Rahtors of Kanauj, the Chauhans of Ajmer, the Paramaras of Malwa, the Solankis of Gujarat, the Chandles of Bundelkhand, the Palas and the Senas of Bengal and the Kalachuris of Chedi.

1. The Gurjara-Pratiharas

It will be remembered that Kanauj was the capital of the empire of Harsha. Foreign travellers and Arab historians always spoke of it as the " capital of Hind." It occupied the position that Delhi did under Muhammadan rule and Pataliputra under the Mauryas and the Guptas. After the death of Harsha, the powerful king Yasovarman reigned there (730 A. D.). His successors were weak and the Gurjaras under Nagabhatta took possession of Kanauj which thus became the Gurjara capital. The Gurjara dynasty reached its zenith in the time of Mihira Bhoja (840—890 A. D.) and his son, Mahendra Pala (890—908 A. D.) The Gurjara dominions at that time included the greater part of the Punjab, Rajputana, Oudh and Central India. Indeed they stretched from the Punjab to Behar. The kingdom, however, began to decline rapidly. In 1019, Kanauj the capital of the Gurjaras, was sacked and plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni. As a consequence, the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty perished. On its ruins was built another dynasty in 1090 A. D. by Chandradeva of the Gahadvala clan. This was known later as the Rahtor dynasty, which lasted for a little more than a century. Govindachandra (1114—1155 A. D.) of this dynasty restored the former glory of Kanauj. It was his grandson, Jayachandra, who, in order to destroy his rival, Prithivi Raja of Delhi, invited Muhammad Ghori and thus brought about his own ultimate destruction. The independence of Kanauj disappeared with the arrival of Ghori (1194 A. D.).

2. The Chauhans of Ajmer

The Chauhans of Ajmer next deserve mention as among the leading Rajput clans of mediæval India. They originally held the small principality of Sambhar (Sakambari) in Rajputana to which they added Ajmer. In the middle of the twelth century the Chauhan territory was ruled by an able warrior-king, Visala Deva (or Vigraha Raja), who also effected the conquest of Delhi. Besides being a patron of poets, he himself was a great playwright. He built a tank and a Sanskrit College at Ajmer. The next important ruler was his nephew, Prithivi Raja, whose exploits are sung by the

famous minstrel, Chand Bhat. Prithivi Raja was one of the most powerful kings that ever ruled in India. He waged many wars against the powerful Hindu kings of the time and came out victorious. His policy of constant warfare with Jayachandra of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty, already mentioned, was exceedingly fatal to the stability of the Hindu kingdoms; for Muhammad Ghori took advantage of the internecine struggle among the Rajput chiefs and easily effected the destruction of both Prithivi Raja and Jayachandra. With the fall of Prithivi Raja and Jayachandra closely followed by the Mussalman occupation of Benares the epoch of Hindu independence may be said to have closed for Northern India.

3. The Chandels of Jejakabhukti

The Chandels exercised sovereignty over the region between the Jumna and the Narmada, known as the province of Jejaka. Some scholars think that the Chandels were the Hinduised Gonds who were feudatories of the Pratiharas. Their first great king was Yasovarman (925—950 A. D.). A great soldier, he conquered the hill-fort of Kalanjar belonging to the Kalachuris and defeated the king of Kanauj. The chandels were great builders and their territory, Bundelkhand, is strewn with the remains of their many hill forts, stately temples and embanked lakes. Dhanga, Yasovarman's son distinguished himself in the fight against Sabuktigin. His son, Gandha, joined the Rajput confederacy against Sultan Mahmud (1023). The Chandel power grew weak as a result of the Muslim onslaughts, but it revived under Kirtivarman, a vigorous ruler, who subdued his rival, the Chedi king (1049—1100 A.D.) Parmardi was the last Chandel king, and he was defeated both by Prithivi Raja in 1182, and by Kutb-ud-din, the Viceroy of Ghori, in 1203 A.D. The dynasty declined after Parmardi.

4. The Kalachuris of Chedi

Related to the Chandels were the Kalachuris of Chedi, an ancient Kshatriya clan. They came to prominence in the ninth century A.D., and their greatest kings were Gangeyadeva (*cir.* 1015—1040 A.D.), who aimed at imperial status, and his son Karnadeva (1040—1070 A.D.), who waged war against the Palas of Bengal and the Malwa ruler. The Mussalmans, in the twelth century destroyed the dynasty.

The Paramaras or Pawars were an Agnikula clan and their power was established early in the ninth century A. D. They rose to glory in the reign of their king Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.) He was a great patron of learning like his uncle Munja who preceded him

(974—997 A. D.) He himself was a great author and wrote many books on astronomy, poetics and grammar. The country was exceedingly prosperous under him. He died in the course of a fight against the united forces of Gujarat and Chedi. His successors were weak and the dynasty continued as an insignificant power until the beginning of the thirteenth century.

5. The Paramaras of Malwa

A dynasty known as the Chavada first established its rule in Northern Gujarat. Vanaraj, its first great ruler, laid the foundation of a new town called Anhilwara. The Chavadas were conquered by the Solankis, who, under their chief, Mularaja, established a new dynasty The Solankis are styled in records as the Gurjaras. They were Saivas although they generously patronised Jainism. Mularaja (961—996 A. D.) had a prosperous and vigorous rule. His successors spent their energy in war with the neighbouring kingdoms of Malwa and Chedi. Bhima I (1022—1064) and Siddharaja (1093—1143) were two of the more famous Solanki kings. The last important king was Kumarapala (1143—1173) who was a great patron of the Jain faith. His successors, although weak, managed to save Gujarat from Muhammadan conquest for more than a century. The dynasty was finally destroyed by the lieutenants of Alauddin (1298).

6. Gujarat—The Solankis

The Guhilots are the Sessodias of Mewar, the foremost among the Rajput clans, who boast of an unbroken descent from the sun. This dynasty, founded by one Bappa Rawal, attained great eminence in the thirteenth century. We shall learn later on in detail about its achievements.

7. The Guhilots of Mewar

The founder of the Pala dynasty in Bengal was a Hindu Raja known to tradition as Adisura but it was one Gopala (730—740 A.D.) who established the Pala power firmly over West Bengal and South Behar. An ardent Bauddha, he founded the great monastery at Uddantapura, near the town of Behar, which became the capital of his successors. His successors, Dharmapala (*cir.* 800 A. D.), was very powerful and spread his rule from Kanauj to the Vindhyas. He was the founder of the famous monastery and University of Vikṛamasila on the banks of the Ganges. Other members of the dynasty were Devapala (*cir.* 850 A. D.), a great patron of Buddhism and Mahipala the ninth of the line (*cir.* 978—1030 A. D.), who was

8. The Palas

mainly responsible for the spread of Buddhism in Tibet. This Mahipala was defeated by the Chola king Rajendra Gangaikonda who pushed on his conquests into the lower Gangetic valley (1023 A. D.). The last great Pala king was Ramapala (*cir.* 1084—1130 A. D.). He conquered Mithila (in North Behar) and Assam and did much to revive the declining Buddhism. The dynasty gradually went down till it was overthrown by Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyar Khilji (1197 A. D.).

9. The Senas

The Senas were originally a dynasty from the Deccan and planted their power in Orissa about 1050 A. D. About the close of the eleventh century, Vijayasena made himself an independent sovereign. He wrested a large part of Bengal from the Palas and had a long and prosperous reign. His son, Ballal Sen, purified Hinduism, reorganised the caste system and introduced the practice of Kulinism, *i. e.*, hypergamy, among all the higher castes. He was succeeded about 1185 A. D. by Lakshman Sen. who ruled at Nuddea to the north of Calcutta for a very long time until his power was overthrown by the Mussalmans in 1199 A. D.

SECTION C

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

The word 'Deccan' in Sanskrit connotes *Dukshina*. It is used in this chapter to indicate all the tract of land south of the Narmada. In a restricted sense, the Deccan includes the whole of Maharashtra, the Canarese districts of the Bombay Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions and the tract occupied by the Telugu-speaking people, now called the Andhras.

The Deccan and its early History

Although the table-land of the Deccan is considered by geologists to be the oldest portion of India, yet its history has remained obscure till very recently. The Deccan in the earliest of times, would appear to have been occupied by the Abhiras, a North Indian race of pastoral habits. Their rule was confined to the Nasik and Khandesh districts of the Bombay Presi dency. The power that successfully established itself in the Deccan after the Abhiras was very likely the Rashtrakutas, who were also known by the names of the Rathis and the Rashtrikas. About the middle of the sixth century A. D., the power of the Rastrakutas in

the Deccan was eclipsed by that of a new dynasty, the Chalukyas Before we read about their history, a brief notice of two other dynasties that played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the Deccan is necessary. These were the Kadambas and the Gangas.

The Kadambas

The Kadambas were a family of Brahmans, so called because they always nurtured the Kadamba tree in front of their houses. Their dominions included all the west of Mysore and the two Kanara districts. Their original capital was at Banavasi. According to the famous Talgunda inscription, the founder of the Kadamba power was Mayurasarman, a Brahman. Much is not known about the kings of this dynasty. Some of the early Kadambas were great patrons of Jainism. They had to contend frequently against their neighbours, the Pallavas and the Gangas. They ceased to exist as an independent power by about 566 A. D.

The Gangas

The Gangas ruled over the greater part of the Mysore country and of the Kaveri river basin from the second century A. D. There seems to have been an eastern branch of the Gangas who ruled in Kalinga. Perhaps, the Eastern Gangas represent the revival of the Ganga power in the north-east of the Presidency. Most of the Western Gangas were staunch supporters of Jainism. The Ganga kingdom itself lasted down to 1000 A. D. It was swept away by the Cholas in the eleventh century A. D.

The Origin of the Chalukyas

The Chalukyas were a powerful people who remained in great power in the Deccan from the fifth to the eighth century A. D. and then again from the tenth to the twelfth century. There are many beautiful legends about the origin of the race. One of those mentions that the progenitor of the Chalukyas was a warrior who sprang from the *Chuluku* or the hollowed palm of Brahmadeva. In this family there appeared two heroes, Haritha and Manavya, who brought glory to the race.

Early History

The first known prince of the Chalukyas was Jayasimha, who took Maharashtra from the Rashtrakutas. His son was Pulakesin I (550 A.D,), who expanded the kingdom of the Chalukyas. He changed the capital from Ayodhya to Vatapi (Badami) in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. He was succeeded by his son, Kirtivarman (567 A.D.), who added Northern Konkan and Northern

Kanara to his dominions. He died in 591 A.D. He was succeeded by his son, Pulakesin II, who was a minor, and his interests were looked after by his uncle, Mangalisa. Misunderstandings arose between the uncle and the nephew with the result that in the struggle that followed, Mangalisa was slain and Pulakesin assumed the reins of government himself.

The Reign of Pulakesin II

Pulakesin was fhe greatest of the Chalukyan kings of South India. From 611 to 634 A.D., he waged many wars in the Deccan and subdued the whole of it. He reduced the Rashtrakutas, attacked the Kadambas and reduced to submission their capital, Banavasi. The Gangas, the Alupas, the Mauryas of the Konkan, and the kings of Lata, Malwa and Gurjara were next subdued by him. As has been stated already, he overcame Harsha in battle and that emperor was forced to acknowledge the Narmada as the southern frontier of his empire. Pulakesin's conquests extended to the south as well. He defeated the Pallavas and attacked their capital, Kanchi. He took from them the Vengi country, that is, the tract of land between the lower Krishna and the Godavari. He handed over Vengi to his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana, who founded a new line there, the line of the Eastern Chalukyas, which prospered down to 1070 A.D. He also crossed the Kaveri, invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas, and obliged them to become his allies. His fame extended far and wide. The king of Persia sent a special ambassador to him. It was in the time of Pulakesin II that the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited his empire. The learned Doctor has left a very favourable record of Pulakesin's administration. About 653 A.D., Pulakesin's dominions were invaded by Narasimhavarman, a Pallava king, who took Vatapi, the capital, and burnt it. Pulakesin himself was killed in the conflict.

Successors of Pulakesin II

Pulakesin was succeeded by his son, Vikramaditya I (653 A.D.), who reconsolidated his kingdom and established his authority. The conflict with the Pallavas continued in the succeeding reigns. Kirtivarman (747—753 A.D.), one of the successors of Pulakesin was defeated by one of his vassals Dantidurga, a Rashtrakuta chief. The hegemony of the Deccan thereupon passed on to the Rashtrakutas.

We shall now survey briefly the fortunes of the Rashtrakutas who temporarily established their sway in the Deccan. Dantidurga,

the Rashtrakuta, who defeated the Western Chalukyas, was a great warrior. He was the founder of the Malkhed dynasty of the Rashtrakutas. He was succeeded by Krishna I whose greatest achievement was the construction of the famous rockcut marvel of the Kailasa temple at Ellora in the Nizam's Dominions. Famous among his successors were Govinda III who considerably expanded the Rashtrakuta power; Amogavarsha, the great patron of Jainism; and Krishna III who fought against the Cholas at Takkolam and killed the Chola king. The last of the Rashtrakutas was Karka or Karkala who involved himself in a struggle with the Paramaras. Taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the Rashtrakuta dominion, Taila or Tailapa II, a brave but obscure Chalukyan hero, ousted the Rashtrakutas from power and established a new Chalukyan dynasty known as the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani.

The Rashtrakuta Revival

The restored Western Chalukyas had a glorious career. Taila, the founder of this new line of Chalukyas, reigned for twenty-four years and had uninterrupted success. Besides acquiring the whole of the Rashtrakuta kingdom with the exception of Gujarat, he subdued Munja, the Paramara king, and executed him. He was succeeded by Satyasraya (997—1008 A.D.) in whose time the Cholas began to carry raids on the Chalukyan territories. Vikramaditya and after him, Jayasimha succeeded Satyasraya. The reigns of those two monarchs were marked by the bloody warfare against the Cholas. In 1042 A.D., Jayasimha was succeeded by Someswara I, who assumed the title of Ahavamalla. Someswara fought hard against the Cholas and also interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chalukyas. Having been defeated by the Chola king at Kudal Sangam, he drowned himself in the Tungabhadra. After Ahavamalla, the country was torn by the civil war of succession which ended finally in Vikramaditya getting the throne. Vikramaditya II had a long and glorious reign. He had to contend against the Hoysalas who were then becoming very powerful. He continued to rule till 1126 A.D. He was a great patron of letters and religion. His court was a very brilliant one and it consisted of such great men of letters as Bilhana, the Kashmirian poet, and Vijnaneswara, the author of the Mitakshara, the chief authority of Hindu law in the country.

Chalukyan Revival

After Vikramaditya the Chalukyan power began to decline rapidly. His successors were very weak and the various chiefs under the empire broke away from the central authority and finally declared

themselves independent. The empire collapsed in the time of Tailapa II. Vijjala, the viceroy of Banavasi, and of the Kalachurya race, imprisoned Tailapa II and himself assumed the supreme authority. Out of the general confusion that ensued, two powerful families appeared and shared the political power in the Deccan. These were the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra. Thus disappeared from history the great and powerful Chalukyas as a dominant power. Scions of the line, however, seem to have remained as petty chiefs in parts of the Konkan till the thirteenth century.

The Decline of the Chalukyas

Leaving aside, for a time, the history of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas, we shall turn to that of the Eastern Chalukyas. It will be remembered that when Pulakesin II went south on a career of conquests, he took from the Pallavas the Vengi country, that is, the tract of land between the lower Krishna and the Godavari. This he handed over to his brother, Kubja Vishnuvardhana. In the year 615 A.D.. Kubja Vishnuvardhana became independent and founded a new line known as the Eastern Chalukyas Although some of the successors of Vishnuvardhana were great warriors, very little is known about these early princes. They had to fight a good deal against the Gangas of Kalinga to their north and the Pallavas on the south. Famous among their kings was Narendra Mirigaraja (799—843 A. D.), who, in his inscriptions, claims to have fought in twelve years one hundred and eight battles against the Gangas of Mysore and the Rashtrakutas. Narendra was an ardent worshipper of Siva and a famous builder. About 1070 A. D., Kulottunga, one of the princes of the Eastern Chalukyan line, ascended the Chola throne and from that time onwards the history of the Eastern Chalukyas merged with that of the Cholas.

The Eastern Chalukyas

Vijjala, who, as has been narrated, subverted the Chalukyan throne (1151 A. D.), was a Kalachurya. The Kalachuris were an ancient people who styled themselves "Lords of the city of Kalanjara" (a famous fortress in Chedi). This shows that they emigrated southwards from Chedi or Bundelkhand. Vijjala, the first Kalachuri ruler of the Deccan (1156—1167 A. D.), was a Jain by faith. Basava Lingayat was his famous minister. A quarrel ensued between the Jain king and the Brahman Basava which ended in the assassination of Vijjala. The Kalachuri rule, therefore, lasted only for a short

The Kalachuris

time (1151—1182 A. D,); but the period is remarkable for the growth of the Lingayat religion.

The Lingayats

The followers of Basava are known as the Lingayats. They reject the authority of the Vedas and the caste system. They are sometimes known as Virasaivas. They regard with great veneration three things, the Guru, the Linga and the Jangam (fellow-religionist). Their principal sacred books are the *Basava Purana* and the *Channa Basava Purana* written in Hala Kannada. The Lingayat faith has since spread into Mysore and the southern Maratha country. It was the faith of the rulers of Mysore from 1399 to 1610 A. D.

The Yadavas of Devagiri

Among the powers that struggled for portions of the Chalukya dominion after its downfall, were the Yadavas of Devagiri. They traced their descent from Krishna, the Divine Charioteer of Arjuna. One of the line obtained the Seuna country which extended from Nasik to Devagiri. The Yadavas attained predominance in the time of their king Bhillama (1187—1191 A. D.) who had his capital at Devagiri. He had to struggle against the Hoysalas who, in the end, were forced to retire to the line south of the Tungabhadra. Among the successors of Bhillama, Singhana (1210—1247 A. D.) was perhaps the most powerful. He established a kingdom which rivalled that of the Chalukyas in extent. A grandson of Singhana rendered himself famous in the history of the Yadavas. He was Ramachandra (1271—1309 A. D.). It was in his time that the Muhammadans under Alauddin Khilji appeared before the Devagiri and invested the capital and defeated the Raja (1294). After that the Yadavas continued to pay tribute to the Muhammadans, The dynasty disappeared in 1318 A. D.

The Later Pallavas

The most glorious period of Pallava history commences with Simhavishnu (*cir.* 590 A.D.). He and his successors are known as the Great Pallavas. Simhavishnu claims to have conquered, besides the Cholas and the Pandyas, Ceylon as well. His son and successor was Mahendravarman I. He came in conflict with the Chalukyas and as we have seen already, Pulakesin II of the Western Chalukyas took from him Vengi. Though defeated in war, Mahendra's glory remained untarnished. He made his name famous by building many rock-cut temples at Trichinopoly, Pallavaram, Mamandoor aud other places. He was a great patron of letters and popularised the love of poetry

and music. He was himself the composer of some *Svaras*. He built many tanks at Mahendravadi, Mamandoor and other places. In the history of religious movements in South India, his name holds an honoured place. He was at first a Jain. Later on he was converted to Saivism by Saint Appar. He also took a leading part in driving the Jains out of the Pallava country.

Narasimhavarman the Great

Mahendra was succeeded by his son, Narasimhavarman, sur named the Great (*cir.* 630—668 A.D.). He defeated repeatedly the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas. He boldly entered the Chalukyan territory, took its capital, Vatapi, and burnt it (642 A.D.). It was during this struggle that Pulakesin II met with his death. Narasimhavarman also maintained a fully equipped fleet which was stationed at Mamallapuram. It was during the reign of this king that the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, visited Kanchi. He noted with satisfaction that the inhabitants of the place were courage ous trustworthy and full of public spirit and learning.

Successors of Narasimhavarman

Among the successors of Narasimhavarman, Narasimhavarman II (690—715 A.D.). was famous for the great impetus he gave to the art of building stone temples. Parameswaravarman II was the last of the Simhavishnu line. The death of this king was followed by a war of succession by which one Nandivarman obtained the throne. His was a very long reign and he probably died in 771 A.D., and the throne was seized by Dantivarman, perhaps a Rashtrakuta. The Pallava dominion was now being attacked on all sides: the Rashtrakutas were gnawing at it from the north while the slow pressure of the Pandyas from the south was making it considerably weaker. Aparajita (close of the ninth century A.D.) was the last of the Pallava rulers. He was defeated by Aditya Chola, who took both Tanjore and Trichinopoly. After Aparajita the Pallavas as a ruling power disappeared.

Pallava Culture

The Pallavas were great patrons of Sanskrit learning and their capital, Kanchi, was a brilliant centre of Sanskrit studies. Many eminent authors flourished in the court of the Pallava kings. Bhairavi, the author of the *Kiratarjuniya*, was a contemporary of Simhavishnu and Dandin, the author of the *Kavya Darsa*, a work on poetics, lived in the time of Rajasimha. In architecture, the Pallavas have left imperishable monuments. The Pallavas were great administrators and their polity was highly developed. Like the

Cholas they bestowed special care on irrigation, and many irrigation works on a large scale were planned and executed by them. In religion, it must be noted that some of the early Pallava kings were Buddhists. The latter Pallavas were most of them ardent Hindus devoted to Vishnu and Siva. In fact, the Pallava period was an age of religious upheaval. Saivite Nayanars, such as Appar and Sambandar, and Vaishnava Alvars were all active, rooting out rival faiths like Buddhism and Jainism.

The Cholas

We have already seen that in the first century A. D., the Cholas aimed at imperial domination under Karikala. By the third century A. D., the Pallavas had established themselves in the Tamil land and from the third to the ninth century A. D. the various Tamil powers were, more or less, subject to their control. But in the ninth century A. D., the Cholas rose to great prominence. They were shrewd enough to recognise the growing weakness of the Pallava state and used their opportunities to reassert their independence. Thus under their chief, Vijayalaya, they wrested Tanjore from the Pallavas. Vijayalaya, then, was the reviver of the Chola line.

Successors of Vijayalaya

Aditya was the son of Vijayalaya and he defeated Aparajita, the last of the Pallavas. It was he that laid the foundation of the mighty Chola empire. He was succeeded by his son, Parantaka (907—953 A. D.), who was successful against the Pandyas and Ceylon. The next great Chola ruler was Rajaraja the Great who ascended the throne in 985 A. D. He effected the conquest of all the lands now included in the Madras Presidency and also large portions of Mysore and Ceylon. According to inscriptions he also conquered the Laccadives and the Maldives. Rajaraja was a great builder. The magnificent temple of Tanjore was built by him, but we are more indebted to him for recording his triumphs on the stone wall of the temple. A Saiva himself, he was tolerant of other faiths. Rajaraja must be considered the greatest of the Chola kings.

Rajaraja was succeeded by his worthy son, Rajendra, known as Gangaikonda Chola. He faithfully carried on and completed the work of his father. He conquered the Raichur Doab, Banavasi and other regions. Ceylon and Kerala trembled before him. He defeated the Western Chalukyan ruler. He sent his general to the banks of the Ganges and defeated Mahipala of Bengal.

Bihar and Kalinga were also probably conquered by him. His successor was Rajadhiraja known also as Jayankondachola. He lost his life in the battle of Koppam fighting against the Chalukyas. Virarajendra was the last ruler of the Vijayalaya line.

Successors of Rajaraja

The Chola crown now passed on to a member of the Eastern Chalukyan line. He was Kulottunga one of the greatest of Chola rulers. He undertook an elaborate re-survey of the land. He invaded Kalinga twice and his exploits in connection with the Kalinga expeditions have been narrated graphically in a Tamil classic, the *Kalingattupparani*, composed by the court poet, Jayankonda, a Jain. The age of Kulottunga was one of great literary and, religious activity. In his time lived the famous reformer, Ramanujaf who, however, had to take shelter under the Hoysalas of Mysore to avoid the persecution of Kulottunga. In this age also flourished Sekkilar, the author of the *Periyapuranam* or the life of the Saiva Saints.

Kulottunga (1070-1118 A.D.)

With the death of Kulottunga, the Chola power began to decline. His successors were all weak and they were unable to check the growing independence of the provincial governors. The last great ruler to posess some semblance of authority was Rajaraja III (1216—1 .48 A. D.), in whose time the Pandyas, under Maravarman Sundara Pandya, I, invaded Woraiyur and Tanjore and burnt the places. The Cholas were equally helpless against the Telugus who were attacking the kingdom from the north. Civil wars and disputed successions brought about the final collapse of the Cholas by the end of the thirteenth century.

The Decline of the Cholas

The Cholas were not only great builders but also great administrators. Their vast empire was divided into six provinces or *Mandalams*. Each *Mandalam* was sub-divided into a number of *Kottams* or *Valanadus*. A *valanadu* implied a group of districts. Each district or Nadu was in its turn sub-divided into *Kurrams* or villages or group of villages. The village then was the unit of administration. Each village had an assembly called the *Mahasabha* which exercised considerable authority in all the departments of rural administration. It assessed and collected taxes and determined in what manner the money should be spent. The

Chola Administration

practical work of the rural administration was carried on by various committees elected by the assembly. There were committees to look after the general affairs, a committee for tank supervision, a committee for gardens, and another to look after the temple charities. The village assembly was also invested with judicial powers.

Central Government

The central government was carried on by the king with the help of a large number of officers. Special attention was paid to the army which was divided into many sections. The Chola possessed also a splendid fleet. The Chola kings received their income mainly from the produce of the land. They took one-sixth of the gross produce, which they received in gold or in kind. In times of famine or adversity, remissions of taxes were quite common.

The Hoysalas

After the Cholas, the Hoysalas stepped in as an imperial power in South India. We may therefore trace in very brief outlines the history of their dynasty. Tucked away in the fastnesses of the Western Ghats, there is a small village, Angadi, which has the honour of being the birth place of the Hoysalas. The founder of this dynasty was one Sala (*cir.* 1007 A.D.). His successor Vinayaditya (1047—1100A.D.) conquered and ruled over South Kanara and Mysore. He was a great builder of cities and towns. This period was the period of the death-struggle between the Cholas and the latter Chalukyas, and the Hoysalas by helping the latter, their liegelords, rose to considerable power. The most famous among the early Hoysalas was Bittideva, otherwise known as Vishnuvardhana. It was he that expelled the Cholas from the Ganga kingdom. This doughty warrior of the race next marched south and took possession of all the territories now represented by the Salem, Coimbatore and Nilgiri districts. He conquered also Malabar and South Kanara. Roughly, his kingdom included the whole of Mysore with most of the Salem, Coimbatore, Bellary and Dharwar districts. Bittideva holds an honoured place in the history of Vaishnavism in South India. He was converted from Jainism to the Vaishnava faith by the great Acharya and reformer, Ramanuja. His conversion was a great blow to the growth of Jainism in Mysore. Though practically independent, Bittideva and his successors owed nominal allegiance to the Latter Chalukyas.

After Vishnuvardhana came his son Narasimha I (1135—1171 A.D.) and after him his grandson Vira Bellala II (1172-1219 A.D.). The latter extended the Hoysala dominion beyond the river Krishna.

The Successors of Bittideva

It was in his time that the Hoysalas became an imperial power recognising no overlord. Narasimha II (1220—1235 A.D.) and Somesvara (1233—1254 A.D.) still further extended the Hoysala empire. In the time of Vira Bellala III (1291—1342 A.D.), the Hoysala kingdom received a shock from which it never recovered. In 1310 the Muhammadans under Malik Kafur came, pillaged, plundered and destroyed the capital, Dwarasamudram, and took the king prisoner. The falling fortunes of the Hoysalas could never be repaired by his successor, Bellala IV, who continued the struggle against the Muhammadans and perhaps fell fighting (1346 A.D.). It was soon after his death that the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, rose to power and stemmed the tide of Muhammadan invasion by founding the empire of Vijayanagar.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—HINDU INDIA

Cir. 3000—2000 B.C.	The Age of the Indus Valley Discoveries.—Probable beginning of Aryan invasions.
,, 1400 B.C.	Tha Boghazkoi Inscriptions.
,, 1200—800 B.C.	(Lower limit of) the Age of the Rig Veda.
,, 800—500 B.C.	Age of the Upanished.
600 B.C.	Religious ferment.
Cir. 599—527 B.C.	Life of Mahavira the Jaina.
487 (or 483) B.C.	Death of the Buddha.
Cir. 600—321 B.C.	The Rise of Magadha under the Sisunagas and the Nandas.
* 519 B.C.	Accession of Bimbisara.
* 491 B.C.	Accession of Ajatasatru (Pataliputra built).
522—486 B.C.	Darius rules over Persia ; he conquers the Punjab and the Indus valley about 518 B.C.
326 B.C. July (?)	The battle of the Hydaspes.
Sept.	Alexander's retreat from the Beas.
325 B.C.	His withdrawal from India.
323 B.C.	His death.
323—321 B.C.	Overthrow of the Nandas and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya—The Maurya Dynasty.
317 B.C.	Complete disappearance of Macedonian rule in India.
Cir. 303 B.C.	Chandragupta's victory over Seleukos Nikator.
,, 302 B.C.	Megasthenes at Pataliputra.
,, 298 B.C.	End of Chandragupta's reign—His migration with Bhadrabahu to the Mysore Country.
298—273 B.C.	The reign of Bindusara.
274—273 B.C.	Accession of Asoka.
270—269 B.C.	Asoka's Coronation.
262—261 B.C.	Conquest of Kalinga.
258—257 B.C. (?)	Issue of the Fourteen Rock Edicts.
237—236 B.C.	Death of Asoka.
Cir. 230—200 B.C.	Establishment of the Andhra-Satavahana power—Stupas of Amaravati, etc.
Cir. 184 B.C.	The extinction of the Mauryas, and the rise of Pushyamitra Sunga.
184—72 B.C.	The Rule of the Sungas.

* These dates are pushed back by some to 582 and 554 B.C. respectively.

Cir. 169 B.C.	Kharavela of Kalinga begins his reign.
,, 140—120 B.C.	Saka occupation of Herat and Seistan.
,, 75 B.C.	Scythian occupation of the Lower Indus valley (*Sakadvipa*.)
72 B.C.	End of the Sungas:
72—27 B.C.	Rule of the Kanvas.
58 B.C.	Foundation of the Vikrama Era.
Cir. 15 A.D.	Consolidation of Yuch-Chi tribes into the Kushana Empire.
,, 19—45 A.D.	Rule of Gandophernes—Mission of St. Thomas to India.
,, 20 A.D.	Kadphises I conquers Kabul.
55 A.D.	Accession of Kadphises II.
78 A.D.	Establishment of the Seka Era—Accession of Kanishka.
Cir. 100 A.D. (?)	Ascendancy of the Early Cholas—Tamil *Sangham* Age.
,, 106—158 A.D.	Rule of Gautamiputra and Vasishtiputra—Revival of Andhra-Satavahana power.
123 A.D.	Death of Kanishka.
Cir. 150 A.D.	Rudradaman the Great Satrap; his famous Girnar Inscription—Gandhara art flourishes.
,, 230 A.D.	Extinction of the the Satavahanas· Simultaneous disappearance of the Kushanas and the Parthians.
,, 200—300 A.D.	Rise of the Abhiras, Early Pallavas, etc.
,, 300 A.D.	Rise of the Vakatahas.
,, 300—450 A.D.	Brahmanical revival.
319—320 A.D.	Foundation of the Gupta Era—Establishment of the Gupta Empire by Chandragupta I.
Cir. 330 A.D.	Accession of Samudragupta.
,, 350 A.D.	Conquests of Samudragupta completed.
,, 375—413 A.D.	Rule of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya.
,, 388—389 A.D.	Final Gupta conquest of the Western Satraps.
405—411 A.D.	Fa Hien, the Chinese Pilgrim in India.
415—455 A.D.	Rule of Kumaragupta, Kalidasa's age (?).
Cir. 420 A.D.	The Huns cross the Oxus.
455—467 A.D.	Rule of Skandagupta. First Hun invasion.
Cir. 480—490 A.D.	Gupta powers begins to break up.
484 A.D.	The Huns defeated King Feroz of Persia.
Cir. 490 A.D.	Renewed invasion of India by the Huns under Toramana; Starting of the dynasty of the Maitrakas at Valabhi.
Cir. 510 A.D.	Mihiragula succeeds Toramana.
,, 533 A.D.	Defeat of Mihiragula by Yasodharman.
,, 533—540 A.D.	Mihiragula in Kashmir.
,, 536—720 A.D.	The Later Guptas of Malva.
,, 550 A.D.	The rise of the Early Chalukyas of Badami (Pulakesin I.)
,, 563—567 A.D.	Final destruction of the Hun power in the Oxus valley.
567 A.D.	Accession of Kirtivarman Chalukya.
Cir. 590 A.D.	Rise of the Great Pallava line under Simhavishnu.
,, 600—630 A.D	Mahendravarman Pallava. (Epoch of Cave Temples in South India).
606 A.D.	Rajyavardhana of Thaneshvar—Accession of Harshavardhana (Era of Harsha)—Union of Kanauj & Thaneshvar.

606—612 A.D.	Harsha's *Digvijaya*.
608 A.D.	Accession of Pulakesin II Chalukya.
610 A.D.	Conquest of Vungi by Pulakesin II.
Cir. 615 A.D.	Independence of tha Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi lasting till 1070 A.D.
620 A.D.	Repulse of Harsha by Pulakesin II Chalukya.
629—645 A.D.	Hiuen-Tsang's travels in India.
Cir. 630 A.D.	Accession of Narasimhavarman Pallava.
642 A.D.	Death of Pulakesin II.
Cir. 647 A.D.	Death of Harsha.
,, 655 A.D.	Revival of the Chalukya power under Vikramaditya I.
,, 650—670 A.D.	Rise of the Rajput clans.
668 A.D.	Death of Narasimhavarman Pallava—Epoch of the rock shrines (*rathas*) at Mamallapuram.
Cir. 674 A.D.	Victory of Vikramaditya over the Pallavas and his capture of Kanchi.
Cir. 690—715 A.D.	Reign of Narasimhavarman II Pallava.
,, 730—740 A.D.	Rise of the Palas of Bengal—Gopala.
741 A.D.	Defeat of the Pallava Kandivarman at the hands of Vikramaditya II Chalukya.
753 A.D.	Disappearance of the Early Chalukyas—Rise of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed.
Cir. 753—775 A.D.	Reigns of Dantidurga and Krishna I Rashtrakuta—Construction of the Kailasa Temple of Ellora.
,, 800 A.D.	Dharmapala of Bengal—Sankaracharya.
815 A.D.	Accession of Amoghavarsha Rashtrakuta.
Cir. 816 A.D.	Accession of the Gurjara—Pratiharas to power in Kanauj.
,, 900 A.D.	Defeat of Aparajita by Aditya Chola—Disappearance of the Pallavas and the rise of the Vijayalaya Chola dynasty of Tanjore.
906—7; 952—953 A.D.	Reign of Parantaka Chola.
949 A.D.	Battle of Takkolam—Rashtrakuta advance on Kanchi.
973 A.D.	End of the Rastrakutas; accession of the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani.
985 A.D.	Accession of the Chola, Raja Raja the Great.
991 A.D.	First Rajput Confederacy against the Moslems.
1013 A.D.	Rajendra Chola's rule begins.
1019 A.D.	Sack of Kanauj by Mahmud of Ghazni.
1070—1118 A.D.	Reign of Kulottunga Chola.
1076—1126 A.D.	Reign of Vikramarka Deva Chalukya—Flourishing of Bilhana and Vijnanesvara.
1095—1096 A.D.	First Chola invasion of Kalinga.
1100—1141 A.D.	Bettideva Hoysala Vishnuvardhana—flourishing of Ramanuja Temples at Belur and Halebid.
1151—1182 A.D.	The Kalachurya usurpation of the Chalukya power—Vijjala and Basava—Rise of the Lingayats.
Cir. 1200 A.D.	Disappearance of the Chalukyan power.
1216—1248 A.D.	Rajaraja III; and the decline of the Cholas.
Cir. 1220—1254 A.D.	Hoysala greatness under Narasimha II and Somesvara.
1216—1275 A.D.	Pandya revival under Sundara Pandya I etc.
Cir. 1346—A.D.	Extinction of the Hoysalas.

CHAPTER VII

THE RISE OF ISLAM

SECTION A. ARAB OCCUPATION OF SIND

The earliest Muhammadan invaders of India were the Arabs, the inhabitants of Arabia. They became prominent in the first half of the seventh century A. D. It was the Prophet Muhammad that created an Arabian nationality, and founded the religion of Islam. Before Muhammad, the Arabs had been divided into many tribes and clans, always at war with one another. They were also sunk in idolatory and in the worship of the stars. It was Muhammad that taught them that there was only one true God to whom all the other gods were subordinate. Muhammad preached his religion first at Mecca, the city of his birth, but he was insulted and persecuted by the people of the city, who would not give up their ancestral faith easily. He, therefore, found it necessary to flee for safety to the neighbouring town of Medina. There he organized his forces and eventually became the leader and law-giver of the little community which accepted him as its Prophet. It was there that he resolved to spread his new faith, at the point of the sword if need be. The year of his flight from Mecca to Medina is, therefore-considered as the starting point of a new era called the Hijra (622-623 A.D.). Helped by his able disciples, Abu Bakr and Omar, Muhammad was able to spread his new religion throughout Arabia. He improved the morals of the people and created a strong feeling of nationality among them. Muhammad also founded a dominion on the basis of the new religion and gave it a capital which was the religious centre of the people. He died in 632 A. D.

Arabia and the Prophet Muhammad.

Muhammad was succeeded by his trusted lieutenant, Abu Bakr. He was known as the Caliph (Khalifa) or representative of the Prophet. It was in the time of Omar, his successor, that Islam made rapid conquests. The whole of Persia, as far as Herat, was conquered by the Arabs. By 650 A. D., they extended their power to the foot of the Hindu-Kush Mountains. They also overran Syria, Egypt and all North Africa, as far as the Atlantic. About 652 A. D., the Arabs penetrated as far as the

The Rapid Conquests of the Arabs

city of Kabul. From this time forward, there were occasional raids into India also. But no permanent occupation of the country was attempted till the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Kasim.

Arab Conquest of Sind

In the latter half of the seventh century A. D., many attempts were made by the Arabs to conquer Sind. It was then under the rule of a Hindu prince whom the Mussalmans called Dahir. One such invasion was that of Muhammad bin Kasim. He attacked the country near the mouth of the river Indus. Advancing up the river, he captured several towns and finally defeated Dahir at Alor, the capital of Sind. Unable to offer further resistance, the Rajput garrison performed the terrible rite of *Johur* by which all the women and children were thrown into the flames while the men rushed on the enemy only to die. The Arab invaders next occupied Multan. It is said that Kasim planned to march against Kanauj, the most famous city of Hindustan. But he was soon recalled by the Caliph who, jealous of the growing power of Kasim put him to death.

Character of Arab Rule

The Arabs displayed an attitude of mingled ferocity and moderation towards the conquered people. They destroyed many towns which resisted their conquests but they treated the merchants and artisans with some leniency. They showed toleration to all those who paid their tribute without demur. The administration was left largely in the hands of the native officials. They levied *Jazia*, a poll-tax, on infidels, and collected it with great rigour. The Arabs were divided into many tribes and clans which were jealous of one another. Their disunion prevented their acting together against the Hindus for long. One effect of the Arab rule was a large increase in trade. Sind was in regular communication with the rest of the Muhammadan world. The coast was therefore studded throughout its length with many ports.

India's influence upon Arabian Culture

The Arab contact with India led to great results for Muslim culture Arab scholars learnt the philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine and chemistry of India through Buddhist monks and Brahman pandits. "Their court at Baghdad extended its patronage to Indian scholarship; and during the Khilafat of Mansur (763—774 A.D.), Arab scholars went from India to Baghdad and they carried with them two books, the *Brahma Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta (a famous astronomer) and his

Khandakhadyaka. It was from these works that the Arabs learnt the first principles of scientific astromony. The cause of Hindu learning received much encouragement from the ministerial family of the Barmaks during the Khilafat of Haroun-al Raschid (786—808 A. D.). The Muslims soon secularised the learning they had borrowed from India and presented it to the European world in a new garb."

New Forces of Conquest

The Caliphate was transferred about 750 A. D, from the Ommiads to the Abbasids. The latter ruled from 760 to 1258 A. D., from Baghdad on the Tigris. The most famous of the Abbaside Caliphs was Haroun-al-Raschid. After him, the Saracen empire fell to pieces. Not only did the Caliphs become weak in the tenth century A. D. but rival Caliphs established themselves both at Cairo on the Nile and in Spain. Several provincial governors also made themselves independent. Under the Ommiads, the Arab empire remained a heritage of the Arab aristocracy. Under the Abbasids, there was a large influx of Persian ideas into the Arab system. Persians replaced Arabs in many important official positions. As the central government grew weaker, these Persian governors became independent, and they began to found hereditary dynasties for themselves. One such dynasty was that of the Samanid princes who ruled over the regions of Khorasan and Trans-Oxiana. The Caliphs were not slow to perceive the great changes that were taking place in their empire. Pressed between the growing Persian influence and the constant jealousies and turbulence of the Arab tribes, they thought that their safety lay in surrounding themselves with a bodyguard of young and warlike Turks. Soon the inevitable followed. The Turkish guards became the masters of the Caliphs. Gradually they acquired the control of the provinces and everywhere they began to oust the Persian officers. 'Turks overflowed into Persia from their native Steppes; the Samanid kingdom, after two centuries of power well-employed, fell to a scramble among Turkish adventurers and this scramble led to the invasion of India.'

Turkish Conquest of India

Among the Turkish officers who thus rose to high position was one Alptigin who was originally the governor of Khorasan. Falling out with his Samanid lord, he established himself in the fortress of Ghazni and thus founded the house of Ghazni. He had a prosperous reign of eight years and was succeeded by his able slave, Amir Sabuktigin (977 A.D.). It was this Sabuktigin that

first attempted an invasion of India from the north-west. Entering the Punjab, he stood face to face with Raja Jaipal of Lahore. As a result of two wars, he annexed Lamghan and Peshawar and defeated the confederacy of several Rajput rulers. He died in 997 A.D. in Balkh and was succeeded by his famous son, Sultan Mahmud.

Condition of India at the Time of Sabuktigin's Invasion

The condition of India at the time when Sabuktigin invaded India and took Peshawar was indeed a sorry one. The Hindu princes were jealous of one another and offered no united front to the invader. The Palas of Bengal did not feel the seriousness of the situation. Kingdoms like Kashmir and Kanauj were fast decaying, owing to oppression and misrule within them. The invaders, on the other hand, were all united, and being sturdy mountaineers, fought bravely. They were, besides, very strong in their quick-moving cavalry. Coming from the cooler climates of the hilly countries, the Muhammadans displayed greater energy and vigour off the battle-field. The sense of the great wealth of India and the booty that could be obtained by the plunder of her rich temples and idols infused a new courage and fanatical enthusiasm in the minds of the Muhammadan soldiers. On the other hand, the Hindu military equipment was very antiquated. They relied mainly upon their elephants which proved so disastrous to the great Porus when he met Alexander. The Hindus lacked both unity and organisation. "Pride and prejudice alike forbade obedience to a common leader, and in critical moments when concentrated action was essential to victory, they pursued their individual plans and thus neutralised the advantages they possessed over their enemies." The Hindus, above all, always stood on the defensive.

Sultan Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud, otherwise known as Mahmud of Ghazni, came to the throne at the age of thirty and in the course of his long reign built up an empire extending from the Punjab to the Caspian Sea and from Samarkhand to Gujarat. The character of this Sultan has been misrepresented grossly by various writers. Some have described him as "the Holy Warrior in the Path of the Lord". Others relying on legends, have depicted him as a monster of personal avarice. In reality he was neither the one nor the other. His sole motive was to build a vast empire. He fought both against the Hindus and the Mussalmans. He had a splendid aptitude for waging wars and making conquests and could endure all the hardships of a difficult campaign. He had an acute brain which could unravel the

most complicated situation. He was one born to command others and his sole purpose in life seems to have been to attain military glory to such heights as no one had reached before him. In one word, he was resolved to become great. His outlook on life was essentially secular. Although an orthodox Mussalman himself, he was "too conscious of his position as the head of the State to allow priesthood to become head of the State." By 999 A.D. he had destroyed the last vestiges of the Saminad kingdom and extended his dominion as far as the Oxus. It was then that he assumed the title of Sultan. The Caliph gave him recognition and to him Sultan Mahmud made a solemn promise that he would wage a holy war against the Hindus every year of his life.

His Invasions of India

It was in the year 1000 A.D. that Mahmud of Ghazni crossed the Indian frontier. In the following year he defeated Jaipal and took him prisoner near Peshawar. Unable to bear this insult to his race, Jaipal, in accordance with the custom of the Rajputs, ended his iife on the funeral pyre. His son Anandpal now put himself as the leader of the Rajput forces opposing Mahmud. In 1004 A.D. Mahmud led an expedition against Multan and Upper Sind. Four years later Mahmud started on a fresh expedition into the Punjab. This time Anandpal was able to form a powerful confederacy of the Rajput princes against the invader. In the struggle that ensued, Anandpal's elephant got frightened and fled away from the field, causing a general panic among the Hindu soldiers who broke into confusion and fled. After this defeat of Anandpal, the task of Mahmud was rendered very easy as he had no other Indian confederacy to fight against. Next Mahmud made a dash for Nagarkot, famous for its rich temple. He sacked it and carried off immense booty in the shape of gold, silver and jewels. In 1011-12 A.D., Mahmud advanced on Thaneshvar, the capital of Harshavardhana, and plundered its rich Vishnu temple.

Plunder of Muttra and Kanauj

The next great undertaking of Mahmud was in the winter of 1018-19 A.D., when he proceeded to attack Kanauj and Muttra. He plundered the temples found in the latter place, and in the course of a single day, captured the seven forts enclosing Kanauj. This expedition made a tremendous impression on the Islamic world. In 1020-21 A.D., Mahmud destroyed the remnants of the Rajput forces that still ventured opposition and virtually annexed the Punjab country.

The Somnath Expedition

The last great expedition of Mahmud was directed against the rich temple of Somnath in Gujarat (1023-24 A.D.). It was one of the most reputed temples of India dedicated to the *Linga* of Mahadeva. Mahmud was very anxious to plunder the fabulous wealth hidden in the temple. From Multan he boldly crossed the desert of Western Rajputana and after a series of hard marches reached Somnath. He easily overcame the ramparts of the city, plundered the temple and broke the enormous stone *Linga*. He returned to Multan through the desert of Sind after this terrible deed. Scholars consider the Somnath expedition as the finest achievement of Mahmud's military genius.

Mahmud's Character and Death

Mahmud died of a wasting disease in 1030 A.D., at the age of 63. The many invasions that he led against India should not lead us to think that Mahmud of Ghazni was a barbarian. Far from being so, he was one of the most learned men of the times. He was the most magnificent patron of letters. He gathered round his refined court a host of poets of whom Firdausi, the author of the *Shah Nameh*, was the chief. The famous Muslim scholar, Alberuni, the first Mussalman to learn Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy first-hand, and who wrote an account of the literature and science of the Indians, lived in the age of Mahmud of Ghazni. It was not Mahmud's intention to hold his Indian conquests permanently. He was more interested in the establishment of a Turko-Persian empire. His Indian expeditions served him to accumulate as much plunder as possible in order to help to realize this end. He was not a fanatic zealot anxious to spread Islam, but he invaded India in the greed for glory and gold. The extensive empire of Mahmud was not knit together by a strong administrative system. His officials were corrupt and tyrannical. There was no peace in the land. Caravan routes were unsafe. The cruelty and vandalism of Mahmud's soldiers were such that the Hindus came to look upon Islam and its followers with loathing and horror. His victories failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism. His empire did not survive him long. Within fifteen years after his death, there was a strong Hindu revival which diminished the extent of the Indian province of the Ghaznavids.

Mahmud was succeeded by his able son, Sultan Masud (1033—40 A.D.). In his time the Seljuk Turks threatened his dominions in the north-west, but instead of facing them, he directed his attention

to the plunder of cities like Benares in Hindustan. The result was that the Seljuk hordes over-ran the Oxus provinces and Khorasan and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Sultan at Merv (1037 A.D.). The disaster cost Masud his throne which passed on to his son, Maudud (1040-49 A.D.). His reign was a very unfortunate one. He could neither recover his ancestral provinces nor hold the Punjab country, whither the Ghaznavid officers had been driven by the Hindu chiefs. Indeed in Hindustan such traces of Islam as Mahmud had left were simply swept away. The successors of Maudud were weak and the history is obscure. Thanks to the absence of any powerful Hindu combination they retained their weak hold over Lahore and Multan. The last noteworthy king of the Ghazni line was Bahram who died in 1152 A. D. In the meanwhile the chiefs of Ghor, a small mountain principality between Herat and Ghazni, ruthlessly plundered Ghazni and sweeping away the last remnants of Ghazni rule in India, established their own dynasty.

The Fall of the Ghaznavids

The Ghori chiefs had existed for a long time as a small but independent power. Mahmud of Ghazni, however, reduced them to submission about 1010 A. D. But after his death in the time of the successor of Bahram, one of the Ghori chiefs, Alauddin Jhansoz, had the courage to plunder Ghazni itself. He died in 1161 A. D. and two nephews of his, Ghaiyas-ud-din and Shahabuddin, succeeded to his power. The elder took Ghazni and Herat and remained practically sovereign of all the great possession of the Ghazni family until his death in 1202 A. D. Shahabuddin, the younger brother, better known as Muhammad Ghori, became the real ruler of the land. He rapidly extended the Ghori possessions. He first conquered part of Khorasan from the Seljuks and then began a series of compaigns in India which really laid the foundation of Muhammadan rule in India. He reduced Sind and Multan in the course of two expeditions (1176—78 A. D.). He next wrested Lahore from the reigning Ghaznavid prince and expelled him altogether from his capital (1185—86 A. D.) Thus came to a miserable end the line of Sabuktigin, and the Ghoris became the lords of the Punjab.

The Dynasty of Ghori

It was the ambition of Muhammad Ghori to establish permanently a Muhammadan empire in North India. The political condition of Northern India favoured his project. The various Rajput chiefs were jealous of one another and their mutual hatred prevented them from offering a united resistance to Muhammad Ghori. In the

first place, Muhammad Ghori confronted Prithivi Raja near Thaneshwar in 1191 A. D. Except the ruler of Kanauj, most other Rajput chiefs helped Prithivi to put up a strong defence against the invader. Prithivi succeeded in the struggle and Ghori had to retreat from the field as he was wounded. The next year (1192 A. D.) Ghori returned with a larger army. This time Prithivi Raja was defeated, taken prisoner and mercilessly executed. With him fell some of the bravest Rajput chiefs. This defeat of the Rajputs meant the real submission of the whole of North India to the Muslims. The victorious Ghori next attacked Ajmer and captured it. Leaving his favourite slave, Kutb-ud-din Aibek, in charge of his Indian conquests, Ghori retired to his mountains. This slave commander was an able general and he lost no time in capturing Meerut, Aligarh and Delhi, the last of which he made his headquarters. In 1193 A. D. Muhammad Ghori turned his attention to Kanauj whose ruler was Jayachandra who had unpatriotically held himself aloof from the earlier struggles. Kanauj was plundered and all the country up to Benares was annexed by Ghori.

Muhammad Ghori and his Conquests

Kutb-ud-din, the slave, was now made the Viceroy of his master. A capable ruler, he quickly pacified the whole country and brought order out of chaos. He annexed Ajmer and was chiefly instrumental in reducing the strong fortress of Gwalior (1196 A.D.). Gujarat next demanded his attention. He defeated its ruler and reduced its capital Anhilwara (Patan). In 1202 A.D., Kutb-ud-din punished the Chandel prince of Bundelkhand who surrendered the strong fort of Kalanjar to the victor. While he was thus subduing the country, a Turko-Afghan adventurer in the service of Muhammad Ghori, by name Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, led a successful expedition into Bihar and rooted out the Pala dynasty that had been reigning there. This adventurer turned next to the conquest of Bengal which was then ruled by the Senas. He destroyed Nuddea, then the capital of the Senas, and the home of Sanskrit learning, and the capital was transferred to Lakhnauti (1199 A.D.)

The Rule of Kutb-ud-din

The last days of Muhammad Ghori were very bitter and disappointing. Some of his slaves who had been entrusted with the administration of provinces proved treacherous and became independent. Muhammad himself sustained a disastrous defeat in an attempt to invade Khwarizm in the west. Eldoz, a slave of Ghori, in charge of

End of Ghori

Ghazni, shut its doors against his master and assumed independence. Kutb-ud-din alone remained loyal and helped his master in recovering hold over Multan and Ghazni. In the midst of this confusion, Muhammad Ghori was murdered treacherously by a party of the turbulent Khokhars. The Ghori dynasty did not long survive him. His many Turkish slaves, who had served as generals, assumed independence everywhere. One of them, Kutb-ud-din, already mentioned in these pages, became the first of the slave kings of Delhi.

Muhammad Ghori was less fanatical than Sultan Mahmud; but like him was a great patron of learned men. Unlike Sultan Mahmud, his ambition was to build up a permanent dominion in India. The conquered tracts were brought under regular rule. Indeed we may consider Muhammad Ghori the real creator of the Muhammadan empire of India. His work in India turned out to be solid and bore fruit in the hands of his slave Kutb-ud-din.

After the death of Muhammad Ghori, portions of Northern India were governed by a dynasty of kings known as the Slave Kings.

The Slave Kings

"Whatever may be said against the slave system," says Lane-Poole, "in the East it tends to the production of great men. While a brilliant ruler's son is apt to be a failure the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved the equals of their master. The reason of course is that the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents; even if he does, the very success and power of the father create an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort: and, good or bad, the son is an immoveable fixture; only a father with an exceptional sense of public duty would execute an incompetent son to make room for a talented slave. On the other hand, the slave is the 'survival of the fittest;' he is chosen for physical and mental abilities, and he can hope to retain his position in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service. Should he be found wanting, his fate is sealed." Some of these slaves have rendered meritorious services to their masters. We have seen already how faithfully and loyally Kutb-ud-din Aibek served his master, Muhammad Ghori. Soon after the latter's death, he was able to exercise his own authority over his brother slave-generals. He strengthened his position also by a series of marriage alliances. By tact and cunning, by mental ability and by the strength of the sword, Kutb-ud-din contrived to extend his sway over the entire Hindustan from Delhi to Kalanjar in Gujarat and from Lakhnauti to Lahore. Kutb-ud-din thus laid the foundation of the kingdom of Delhi and he must be

reckoned the first independent Muhammadan ruler of India. Contemporary historians have nothing but praise for the wise rule of Kutb-ud-din. In his time the Mussalman and the Hindu lived amicably together. He was a great builder. He built two mosques, one at Delhi and another at Ajmer, out of the materials of demolished Hindu temples. Many of you must have heard of the famous Kutb Minar, a pillar 250 feet high, which he erected at Delhi. His rule lasted from 1206 to 1219 A.D. He died of a fall from his horse while playing polo at Lahore.

Altamish (1210-35 A.D.)

Kutb-ud-din was succeeded by his weak son, Aram, whom Altamish dethroned and proclaimed himself as the Sultan of Delhi. He was the governor of Badayun and he quickly overcame all opposition from the nobles of Delhi and established his authority everywhere. He suppressed the revolts of other slave generals and defeated them in battle. It was in his time that the Mongol hordes under the terrible Chingiz Khan, the scourge of the world, entered India. Fortunately for Altamish, the Shah of Khwarizm acted as a buffer between the Mongols and India. Thus India was saved and Atlamish came out triumphant from the turmoil created by the Mongol irruption. After this storm, Altamish was bold enough to lead expeditions into distant Bengal, Malwa and Bundelkhand. He put down the unruly governor of Bengal, Ghiyas-ud-din Khilji, and forced his submission (1225 A.D.). The strong fortress of Ranthambhor also fell into his hands. In 1226 A.D., the forts of Gwalior and Ujjayini also fell. In 1233, the Caliph of Baghdad, although weak and powerless, was still the high pontiff of Islam and he invested Altamish with the title of "Commander of the Faithful." This recognition from the Caliph increased the prestige and glory of the slave king, Altamish, who also carried out many reforms. He was the first to introduce a purely Arabic coinage in India and adopted as his standard coin the silver *tanka* weighing 175 grains. He was a great patron of the learned and the holy. A pious Mussalman himself, he completed the building of the Kutb Minar which had been begun in the time of his predecessor. His reign on the whole was beneficial and lasted twenty-six years.

Ten years of confusion followed the death of Altamish and the crown passed on to Raziya, the able daughter of the Sultan. She ruled for more than three years (1236—40 A.D.). According to a historian, "she was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex and so in the estimation of men

all those virtues were worthless." She showed some partiality to an Abyssinian slave, which roused the anger of the Turkish nobility. Altunia, the governor of Srihind, was one of them. But the artful queen got him over to her side by marrying him. In the end, however, the nobles revolted both against the queen and her husband, captured them and put them to death.

Queen Raziya

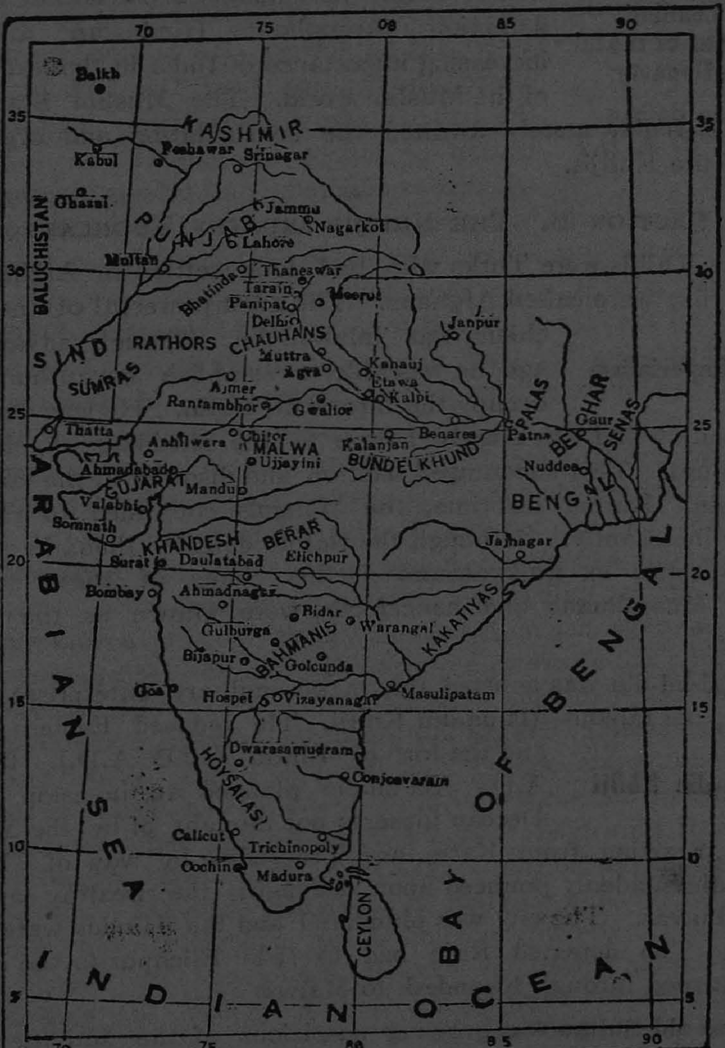
Once again confusion reigned supreme in the affairs of the Muslim state. Puppet kings were set up only to be cast aside after a short trial. Taking advantage of the confusion in the land, the Mongol hordes reappeared and captured Lahore in 1241 A. D. The country to the west of the Indus came to be permanently occupied by these barbarians. The most pressing necessity of the state, at this juncture, was provision for the proper defence of the empire and so we find the nobility elevating to the throne a humble pious and well-meaning man, Nazir-ud-din by name. Sultan Nazir-ud-din led the life of a fakir and not that of a sovereign. He was by nature and training ill-fitted to be king in those troublous times, but he had the good fortune to be assisted by a very able minister, Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, who was the *de facto* ruler during his time. Balban controlled the political destinies of the Delhi Sultanate for nearly forty years, for twenty years as a minister and for more than twenty years as Sultan. He was a Turk of Albari in Turkestan and had entered the service of Altamish in 1232 A. D., as a slave. By dint of honest and loyal work he rose to the position of a minister in the time of Nazir-ud-din who quickly perceived his great abilities and strength of character. He bore also the title of Ulugh Khan. The services of Balban to the Muslim kingdom were inestimable. He suppressed the turbulent tribes of the Western Punjab, put down the refractory Hindu chiefs in the region of the Doab, ravaged Mewat and Rantambhor and in fact tranquillised the whole country as far west as Multan and Uchch. For a time Balban lost the royal favour and was in disgrace; but when the Sultan realised his folly in listening to the scandalous tales against Balban, he quickly restored Balban to his former position (1254 A. D.). True to his master under all circumstances, Balban crushed the rovolt of the governors of Oudh and Sind, thrust back an invasion of the Sind by the Mongols and cleared the country of Mewat of brigands. Nazir-ud-din died in 1266 A. D. and Balban immediately ascended the throne. As minister he saved the country from the Mongol Peril, strengthened the frontier positions, organised

Sultan Nazir-ud-din (1246—66 A. D.)

an efficient army and above all, suppressed, although with ruthless severity, the rebellions of both the Amirs and the Hindu chiefs.

Sultan Balban (1266—87 A. D.)

The immediate task of Balban as Sultan was to reorganise the administration and reassert has authority. He enlarged his army and cleared the country round Delhi of jungles and the bandits who infested them. In his administration of justice he showed an impartiality which was admired by all classes of people. He dealt very severely with the truculent nobles and did not spare even his own cousin Sher Khan, the warden of the western marches. The two great objects which engaged his attention were the Mongol danger and the fear of the revolt of provincial governors. He entrusted the frontiers to his own son and took great care of the provinces exposed to Mongol attacks. In the course of one of the Mongol raids, Prince Muhammad, his eldest son, died in battle (1225 A. D.). His death was a great shock to the aged Sultan and hastened him to the grave. After his son's death he always stayed near his capital and would not be tempted into distant campaigns. To this however there was one exception. Tughril Khan, the governor of Bengal, rebelled against Balban and declared his independence. Balban took a terrible vengeance on his army. Even though it was the rainy season, the Sultan went, by forced marches, to Bengal only to hear that the rebel had fled. Tughril's army was, however, surprised and easily dispersed. The sultan restored order in the province and entrusted it to his second son, Bughra Khan. When the Sultan realised that his end was nearing, he offered the throne to his surviving son, Bughra Khan; but the latter did not like to be king. After the death of the Sultan in 1287 A.D., the nobles offered the crown to one Kaiqubad, a stripling of seventeen, addicted to pleasure and debauchery. His wily and scheming minister, Nizam-ud-din, bent upon usurping power for himself, encouraged the king in his low ways and created a split in the country between the powerful Khilji clan and the Turkish nobles. There was neither order nor organisation in the kingdom now. Monarchy itself was brought into utter contempt. One fine morning, the wretchdue Kaiqbad was kicked to death by a Khilji officer and thus ended most ingloriously the slave line. One of the ablest of Khilji officers, Jalal-ud-din, promptly killed the vicious minister of the wretched Kaiqubad and, putting down the opposition of the people of Delhi by heavy bribes, ascended the throne in 1290 A.D. and thus founded the Khilji dynasty, famous in Muslim history.



MAP OF INDIA

Under the Early Sultans of Delhi

The Leading Features of the Slave Dynasty

The prominent features of the history of Hindustan under the Slave kings were the permanent establishment of the Muslim empire within India, the steady expansion of Muslim dominion throughout Hindustan and the increasing importance of India in the estimation of the Muslim world. The Muslim State, thus created in India, merely awaited the consolidating and organising work of the Khiljis.

SECTION B. THE KHILJIS AND THE TUGHLAKS

Khilji Imperialism

The Khiljis were Turks who had long settled in Afghanistan, though they were called Afghans. The most powerful of the Khilji chiefs was Jalal-ud-din. Though advanced in age, he was able to establish his authority and occupy the throne of Delhi. He was very mild in disposition and was greatly averse to the shedding of blood on any account. This encouraged sedition and disorder in the land on a vast scale. During his time, the Mongols continued to raid the country incessantly. Although the Sultan defeated them, he allowed them to settle in and around Delhi. Some of these Mongols became Mussalmans and henceforth were known as the "New Muslims."

Ala-ud-din Khilji

Jalal-nd-din was assisted ably in his military enterprises by his nephew, the famous Ala-ud-din Khilji. He reduced Eastern Malwa and the fort of Bhilsa (1293 A.D.). In 1294 A.D., Ala-ud-din planned an invasion of the Deccan hitherto not thought of by the Muhammadans. Starting from Karra and proceeding by way of Elichpur, Ala-ud-din suddenly pounced upon Devagiri, the wealthy capital of the Yadhavas. The city was plundered and the Hindus were put to torture. The defeated Raja had to cede Elichpur to the invader who returned through Khandesh to Malwa.

The Murder of Jalal-ud-din

The old Sultan was growing suspicious of the activities of his nephew and proceeded to Karra in order to meet and welcome him. He was, however, advised by his nobles not to trust Ala-ud-din. The aged king, flattered and deceived by protestations of loyalty and attachment by the crafty general, went to meet him accompanied by a scanty retinue, which was also unarmed. In the course of the interview, Jalal-ud-din was murdered by an officer of Ala-ud-din. The conspirators immediately acclaimed Ala-ud-din as

their king. Ala-ud-din scattered sufficient gold among the nobles of the previous Sultan's following to induce them to recognise him readily as the Sultan of Delhi.

The first task of the new Sultan was to free the country from the frequent Mongol raids. These Mongols or Mughals continued to devastate and plunder the country from 1296 to 1305 A.D. Often enough Ala-ud-din himself marched against them. In 1301 A.D., they even raided Lahore and two years later they actually approached Delhi. Ghazi Beg Tughlak Khan, an able general of Ala-ud-din, scattered the Mongol hordes many a time and inflicted on them such heavy damage that at last they departed from the country and did not trouble the land for a long time. Ala-ud-din revived the frontier policy of Balban and strengthened all the forts that lay on the routes of the invaders.

Sultan Ala-ud-din (1296–1316 A.D.)

When the danger from the Mongols had passed, the Sultan turned his attention to projects of foreign conquests. In 1298 A. D., the Sultan's brother, Ulugh Khan, invaded Gujarat and sacked the temple of Somnath. Two years later, an attempt was made on Rantambhor, but before this the Muslims had to retire. The place fell after a prolonged resistance in 1301 A.D. The Sultan next proceeded against the states of Mewar and Rajputana. The immediate cause of the invasion was the passion of the Sultan for the beautiful Padmini, the queen of Rana Bhim Singh. Chittor fell in 1303 A. D. after a good deal of slaughter and destruction by the Sultan. Malwa immediately submitted to the Khilji and the cities of Mandu, Ujjayini, Dara and Chandri acknowledged the sway of the Sultan. By these conquests Ala-ud-din made the whole of Hindustan acknowledge his suzerainty.

His Conquests

Ala-ud-din was then fired with the ambition to conquer the Deccan. Although the campaign would be perilous, the Sultan, unmindful of the obstacles in his way, entrusted the work to his great general, Malik Kafur (1307 A.D.) who marched to Devagiri and laid waste the country. Rama Deva, the Raja, humbly sued for terms and he was sent to Delhi to make the personal submission to the Sultan, (1307 A.D.). In 1308 A.D., Malik attacked Telingana. Pattaparudra Deva, its king, shut himself up in Warangal and offered a most desperate resistance. Finally he had to submit. Not only did he give up all his treasures, but also promised to pay

Invasion of the Deccan

an annual tribute to the Delhi Sultan. Kafur next reduced Dwarasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala kingdom. Next he made ready for an invasion of Ma'bar, that is, the Coromandel coast. A quarrel between the two brothers, Sundara Pandya and Veera Pandya, facilitated Malik Kafur's interference in the affairs of the Pandyan kingdom. At the head of a great force, Malik Kafur proceeded to Srirangam, plundered the rich temple of Sri Ranganatha and then proceeded to Madura. He plundered the rich temple of Madura also and left a small Muslim garrison in the city. It would appear that Malik Kafur went as far as Ramesvaram. The great temple there was also looted and the idol destroyed, After this, he returned to Delhi in April 1311 A.D. laden with immense booty. In 1312 A.D., the Emperor sent Malik Kafur once again against Devagiri, as its new ruler, Sankara Deva, showed signs of assuming independence. This time the whole of Maharashtra was ravaged and the Yadhava prince, Sankara, was defeated and beheaded. Thus the whole of South India lay at the feet of the Sultan. The ancient dynasties of the Cholas, the Cheras, the Pandyas, the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas and the Yadhavas were all over-thrown. The empire now embraced practically the whole of India, from Multan, Lahore and Delhi in the north to Dwarasamudra in the south and from Lakhnauti and Sonargaon in the east to Thatta and Gujarat in the west, including the whole tract of land which is known now as Central India.

Administrative Measures and Reforms

The administration of Ala-ud-din was very harsh. The frequent revolts that took place in the early years of his reign hardened him against both the Hindu and the Muslim nobility. He therefore pursued a severely repressive policy. Often enough he confiscated the properties of the nobility and laid his hands ruthlessly on inams and religious endowments. Money was exacted from the people on every kind of pretext. He prohibited the selling and drinking of wine, as well as the consumption of intoxicating drugs. This had the effect of reducing the number of conspiracies and apprehensions of rebellion practically disappeared. The nobles were not permitted to visit one another or enter into matrimonial alliances without the Sultan's consent. The Hindus, in particular, were ground down by a system of heavy taxation. Taxes of all sorts were levied upon them so heavily that they had very little time left for politics. His reforms were also intended to make the military very efficient. We have seen already that, following the example of Balban, he strengthened considerably his north-west

frontier. Even, in times of peace he maintained a huge standing army in order to put down rebellions. He regulated the prices of all commodities for the market and prevented the fluctuations resulting from the law of supply and demand. Efficient superintendents of markets were appointed to enforce the prices fixed by the state. Grain was accumulated in the royal granaries. The crown villages in the Doab were compelled to pay their revenue in kind. The effect of these reforms was that the supply became so full that the people did not feel the pinch of high price even in times of scarcity.

Ala-ud-din's Theory of Government

Although a strict Muslim, Ala-ud-din was opposed to the interference of the Mullas in the affairs of state. Under him, Muslim dominion became an imperial power. His rule disciplined men's minds to a great extent and the peace and security which he gave to the country enabled it to attain a degree of prosperity not known in the times of other Muslim rulers. Mosques, colleges and other works of public utility were built in Delhi. Poets and men of religion came to his court in large numbers. One great defect of the Sultan's administration, however, was over-centralisation. His authority was gradually weakened by the policy of repression which he adopted throughout his reign and it was rendered worse by the system of espionage which he maintained. Yet another weak spot in his administrative system was the great power and influence with which he invested his slave warrior, Malik Kafur, who was hated by many. Under the influence of Kafur, the Sultan imprisoned his eldest son and beheaded his brother-in-law. In the last days of his life there were revolts in many parts of the empire and the royalist forces found themselves unable to cope with the situation. The Sultan died in January 1316 A. D.

The End of the Khiljis

After the death of Ala-ud-din, Malik Kafur blinded two of his sons and raised a third to the throne. Unable to put up with his excesses, the nobles formed a conspiracy and killed Kafur and his associates. One Kutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah another son of the late Sultan, then assumed power (1316 A. D.). To start with, this new ruler showed some vigour and intelligence in the administration of the realm. But later on, he abandoned himself to debauchery. He also raised to great favour a low caste convert, Malik Khushru. This low-born adventurer got the Sultan himself assassinated (April 1320 A. D.). Thus was extinguished the house of Khilji. Khushru usurped the throne under the title of Nazir-ud-din.

Respectable Hindus would have nothing to do with him and the Mussalmans treated him with contempt. In the end, all parties in the country invited Ghazi Beg Tughlak to march on Delhi and rid them of this pest. Tughlak advanced to Delhi, defeated and executed Khushru and founded a new dynasty.

The Rule of the Tughlaks

Ghazi Beg Tughlak, who executed Khushru, ascended the throne under the title of Ghaiyas-ud-din Tughlak. He was by birth a Karauna Turk and had seen service under the brother of Ala-ud-din Khilji. By dint of ability, he rose to the position of a governor, and the death of Khushru left him without a rival for the vacant throne. He began his rule by framing wise regulations for the relief of the oppressed peasants. He reconciled the nobles and the relatives of Ala-ud-din to his rule. The Hindus were still looked upon as of an inferior class. He re-organised the administration which had been thrown out of gear in the time of his predecessor. He improved the departments of justice and police and he attempted to put down official corruption. Ulugh Khan, the heir apparent was made the viceroy of the Deccan in 1321 A. D. He at once led an expedition against Warangal, whose Raja Prataparudra Deva, showed signs of insubordination. Ulugh Khan marched against Warangal. captured Bidar on the way and then took the Raja of Warangal prisoner. Even the name of Warangal was changed to Sultanpur. From this time, the Kakatiyas who had ruled Warangal, ceased to be the predominant power in the Deccan and South India.

In 1324 A. D. Ghaiyas-ud-din Tughlak had to go to Bengal to suppress a rebellion. On his turn from Bengal, he defeated the Raja of Tirhut and reduced to subjection completely the neighbouring country. He returned to Delhi where he met with his death in a strange way. Ulugh Khan arranged for a grand reception to his father who returned successful from his Bengal campaigns. A great pavilion was built where the son was to welcome the father. Either by accident or by design the huge structure collapsed, killing outright Ghaiyas-ud-din Tughlak (1325 A. D.). Ulugh Khan ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Death of Ghaiyas-ud din Tughlak

Muhammad bin Tughlak has been misunderstood very much by historians. Several have depicted him as a mad and blood thirsty tyrant, who was hated by all sections of the people. This view, it is to be feared, is much of an exaggeration. The fact was that Muhammad bin Tughlak was far ahead of his generation and the

various schemes which he put forward could not be understood by his contemporaries in their true perspective. There seems to be

Muhammad bin Tughlak (1315—51 A. D.)

no doubt that Muhammad bin Tughlak was one of the most accomplished and generous of rulers. In an age of intolerance he understood the political advantages of religious toleration and treated the Hindus much more leniently than his predecessors had ever done. A versatile genius, a lover of the fine arts, a master of the sciences, he was liberal-minded in matters of religion. His one fault was that those who incurred his wrath were punished with a severity out of all proportion to the necessities of the case. As a sovereign, the verdict of history is that he was a huge failure. Yet the extremely unfavourable view hitherto held of him should be modified in view of the new interpretation forthcoming of his wild schemes like the token currency, the transfer of his capital, his designs for the conquest of Persia and China and his ruthless taxation.

It is not possible to chronicle the events of his reign in the order in which they took place. One of the earliest acts of the Sultan was

The Chief Events of his Reign

to order the compilation of a register of the land revenue for the whole empire. In 1327-28 A.D. he suppressed a revolt in the Deccan which was headed by a fief-holder, who was his own cousin, by defeating him near Devagiri. It was on this occasion that the Sultan realised the absolute necessity of changing his capital from distant Delhi to Devagiri which was a more central point from which his scheme to conquer Telingana and the Deccan could be

The Transfer of Capital

carried out. He ordered the inhabitants of Delhi to proceed to the new capital Devagiri which he re-named Daulatabad (1327 A.D.). The transfer of capital by itself was not unwise or unstatesmanlike but the eccentric sovereign took little account of the great amount of suffering undergone by the people.

In 1328 A.D. the Sultan suppressed rebellions that occurred at Multan and at Delhi. On this occasion he enhanced the land revenue which the peasants of the Doab had to pay. This was to serve both as a punitive measure and as method of replenishing the treasury which was becoming rapidly empty. Unfortunately the scheme of heavy taxation failed of both of its objects. When money did not come to the treasury and when his resources failed, the Sultan, following the example set by the Tartar Kublai Khan and the Persian king Gaikhatu, issued the notorious token currency

which has been criticised by historians and contemporaries as at once mad and foolish. One result of this policy was that private persons fradulently issued token coins on their own account. But when the Sultan realised that the scheme was a failure he withdrew the token coins and gave the people good coins and thus restored public confidence.

Token Currency

Another tactical blunder committed by the Tughlak was that he encouraged many natives of Trans-Oxiana and Persia to settle in India. This roused the jealousy of the nobility who lost no opportunity to spread evil rumours about the king's character and his aims. When the heavy taxation imposed on the Doab broke the back of the rural population and so could not be realised, the Emperor led a punitive expedition on it destroying crops and hunting down people who preferred the company of wild beasts in the forests to the splendour of towns. But the Sultan was not incorrigible. When he found that his pitiless exaction of money was resented by the people he sought to remedy the situation by ameliorating measures such as digging wells and advancing loans to peasants. But the remedy came too late.

Some historians, like Barani, attribute another mad project to the Tughlak. He is supposed to have planned an invasion of Tibet and China. In all likelihood Muhammad merely attempted the reduction of the hill states lying in the region of the lower Himalayas. It is needless to point out that the large army that he sent to conquer Tibet was practically annihilated, although the real object of the expedition, the subjugation of the hill tribes, was achieved. These events were enough to create discontent and rebellion everywhere in the land. Province after province raised tbe standard of revolt against the Sultan. An enterprising soldier in Eastern Bengal slew the governor of the province and proclaimed his independence (1338-39 A.D.), and Bengal was definitely lost to the empire. A number of Amirs who were discontented alteady headed many insurrections and otherwise made themselves odious to the Sultan. Many of them were in occupation of strong positions in Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan. It was however Gujarat that gave the Sultan the greatest trouble and he had to remain there for a number of years. Some of the foreign Amirs in the Deccan slew the governor of Devagiri, seized the treasure and proclaimed one of them king of the Deccan. Muhammad Tughlak promptly marched to Devagiri, captured the fortress and scatterd the rebels

Rebellions everywhere

who fled to Gulbarga. But he could not complete his work in the Deccan as he was required urgently to subdue a rebellion which suddenly broke out in Gujarat. In his absence the Deccan rebels drove away the imperial forces and proclaimed one Hasan Kangu king, under the title of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah who was the first of the Bahmani dynasty of the Deccan.

The Last Days of Tughlak

The Sultan had to give up all attempts to recover the Deccan for the time being. His time was fully occupied in putting down revolts in Gujarat and Sind. He was frequently moving from place to place with a large force. When nearing Thatta he contracted a fever and died after a few days' illness (1351 A.D.). At his death Bengal and Malabar definitely became independent. Warangal recognised his authority only in name. The Deccan became independent under the Bahmani Sultan. The kingdom of Vijayanagar, a new Hindu state, was just coming into existence. The Muslim dominion in Hindustan, however, remained intact. Its western boundary was the course of the Indus. The Sultan's repressive and cruel policy led to the disruption of the empire.

Estimate of his Work

It is true that Muhammad Tughlak failed in his purpose but his failure was due largely to circumstances beyond his control. Famines and pestilence marred the glory of his reign. There were however good features in his reign which few historians have cared to note. He appointed many Hindus to positions of great trust and power. He attempted to abolish the cruel custom of *Sati*. He left the Rajput states unmolested. He refused to be governed by the Ulema (men of religion of Islam). The justice that he meted out to the people was adequate and impartial. He had but one law for both the poor and privileged classes. He therefore offended the nobility who claimed many exemptions from the operation of the law. The following estimate of Muhammad Tughlak's reign and work does greater justice to the great Sultan than the verdict of some historians who considered him the most magnificent mad man on earth;

"The verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligula, does little justice to his great genius, and ignores his conspicuous plans to cope with famine and his efforts to introduce ameliorative reforms. He possessed an intellect and a passion for practical improvement, which we rarely find in mediaeval kings. But his task was an extremely onerous one. He had to deal with the problems of an evergrowing empire with a staff of officers who never loyally co-operated with him. In view of these extenuating circumstances, the common opinion about the Sultan's character and policy needs to be revised."

Muhammad bin Tughlak was succeeded by his cousin Firuz Shah. Though a bigoted and narrow-minded Mussalman the new ruler, possessed some very good qualities. He hated the blood-shed and the cruelties inflicted upon the people by his predecessor. He therefore abolished torture and discouraged espionage. He encouraged Muslim learning and theology a good deal and built many colleges and endowed them. He took particular care of the peasants and built several canals with a view to improve irrigation facilities. Firuz was a lover of buildings and to him is attributed the building of several cities, the most noteworthy of them being Firuzabad on the Jumna. His foreign policy must be deemed a failure. He sent two expeditions to Bengal and although his army won some success in the campaigns, he could not permanently annex Bengal to his kingdom. Thus the empire in the time of Firuz was confined to the region north of the Vindhyas. The Deccan and Bengal continued to be independent. The historians of the period, Barani and Shamsi Siraj Afif have recorded that the people in the time of Firuz were enjoying an unprecedented degree of material prosperity.

Successors of Muhammad Tughlak-Firuz Shah

The chief defects of his reign were the creation of a huge slave establishment which proved dangerous in the end and the system of granting Jaghirs which made the fief-holders independent of the sovereign. Although born of a Rajput mother, he was intolerant towards the Hindus and imposed the *Jaziya* on Brahmans who had been exempt till then. Thus the reign of Firuz was one of mingled sunshine and cloud. He died at a very advanced age, October 1388 A. D., after a peaceful reign of thirty-seven years.

His Successors

After Firuz, his son Muhammad succeeded to the throne under the title of Nazir-ud-din (1390—94 A. D.). He deprived the old slaves of Firuz of much of their power and this was supported strongly by some of the Hindu chiefs. His reign was howover a very weak one and was marked by the prevalence of general disorder. He was succeeded by his son, Humayun, who died shortly after ascending the throne. He was followed by his younger brother who assumed the title of Muhammad Tughlak II. He was a weak and incompetent ruler and in his time everything was in confusion from Kanauj to Bihar. Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh all became independent under their respective governors. To add to his difficulty, Delhi was torn by a civil war between the Sultan and Nazarat Khan, another

grandson of Firuz. It was with great difficulty that Ikbal Khan, the Sultan's Wazir, succeeded in placing him on the throne.

The Invasion of Timur

Scarcely was the internal crisis ended when the empire was convulsed by the invasion of Timur, the Mongol conqueror. He was a relation of Chingiz Khan, the great scourge of the world, and was born in 1335 A. D. In a series of compaigns he overran Khorasan, Afghanistan, Seistan and many parts of Persia. He conquered Baghdad and Mesopotamia and defeated the great Khan of Tartary. In 1398 A. D., he invaded Northern India. Advancing with a large army he crossed the Hindu-Kush and reached the Indus by way of Kabul. Crossing the Indus he marched by the side of the Jhelum into the Punjab and defeated the governor, Mubarak Khan. He then marched on Delhi capturing many cities on the way. In the battle that ensued, Muhammad Tughlak and his Wazir were defeated easily and they fled from the field leaving the invader vast stores and instruments of war. The Sultan himself fled into Gujarat. Delhi submitted after a solemn assurance had been given by Timur that he would protect the lives of the citizens. Then he was proclaimed the Emperor of India. But the soldiers of Timur were in no mood to listen to their master and they sacked Delhi and plundered and massacred its citizens for five full days. When they were weary of the slaughter Timur gave the order to retreat. The booty that he carried with him was immense. On his way back he reduced to submission the Raja of Jammu, the king of Kashmir and others. Timur appointed one Sayyad Khizr Khan as his deputy in India and left for his capital (March 1399 A.D.).

The End of the Tughlak Dynasty

The misery of the land after the invasion of Timur can be better imagined than described. Everywhere prevailed anarchy and famine. Everywhere the social fabric was thrown out of gear. Military adventurers began to carve small kingdoms for themselves. It was with the greatest difficulty that Wazir Ikbal Khan could persuade his nominal sovereign Muhammad Tughlak to return. From this time till the death of the Wazir the latter was the *de facto* king of Delhi. The *de jure* king took refuge in the territory of Jaunpur. After the death of the Wazir, Muhammad returned to Delhi where a number of nobles supported him. Doulat Khan Lodi., a loyal Afghan noble now became the Wazir of Muhammad. He made vain attempts to restore the rapidly declining power of Delhi but it was too late. The Sultan died in 1412 A.D. and

with him, as Ferishta writes, "fell the kingdom of Delhi from the race of the Turks who had mightily swayed the sceptre for more than two centuries." After Muhammad, Daulat Khan attempted to be king but failed. Meanwhile Khizr Khan, Timur's deputy, already mentioned, advanced on Delhi and captured it after a siege of four months. Daulat Khan was expelled and Khizr Khan founded a new dynasty (1414 A.D.)

SECTION C

MUHAMMADAN EXPANSION IN THE NORTH

With the death of Muhammad Tughlak II in 1412 A.D. the Delhi empire practically ceased to exist. The history of North India from 1412 A.D. to 1526 A.D. when Babar re-established the Muhammadan empire of Delhi, is the history of small states enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy with no central authority to control them, and often at war with one another. Before we examine the history of these Muhammadan states let us enumerate briefly the causes that brought about the disintegration of the Delhi empire. In the first place the empire was growing unwieldy and there was the difficulty of communication among its various parts. The various provincial governors, far removed from the control of the *suzerain* at Delhi, proclaimed their independence at the earliest possible opportunity. Important military commands and governorships fell into the hands of foreign Amirs and favourites who had no interest in maintaining the empire. The eccentric actions of Muhammad Tughlak had greatly thrown the empire out of gear. The mild rule and unwarlike character of his succeessor Firuz had further contributed to the diminution of royal prestige. The influence of the *Mullas* and the *Muftis* in the latter days of Tughlak's rule proved disastrous in the long run. The evils of the *Jaghir* system and the slave guards of a later age created further confusion. Timur's invasion of India gave such a shock to the empire that it never recovered from the blow it received. Above all, the Hindus and the Muhammadans had not yet learnt to live together in peace and amity. They still continued as separate parts of the body politic.

Disintegration of the Empire—Causes

Khizr Khan who founded the Sayyad line did not obtain any large territory along with Delhi. He tried to create some order in the country over which he ruled. He relieved the sufferings of the poor to a very great extent, and his Wazir restored order in the

regions of the Doab and Gwalior. But there were repeated rebellions during his time and worn out by these he died in 1421 A.D. He was followed by three others, his son Mubarak Shah (1421–34 A.D.). Sultan Muhammad (1434–45 A.D.). and Ala-ud-din (1445–51 A.D.). The whole period was marked by prolonged and bitter feuds with the neighbouring kings who had assumed independence. The powerful ruler of Jaunpur annexed several districts belonging to Delhi. The Sayyads were panic-stricken and the last of them actually removed his capital to Badaun. He was however so weak that his Wazir invited Bahlol Lodi, the powerful governor of the Punjab, to invade Delhi and assume sovereignty. Thus was the dynasty of the Sayyads extinguished, and the Afghan line of Lodi set up.

The Rule of the Sayyads (1414-51 A.D.).

Bahlol Lodi was helped to the Delhi throne by a confederacy of the great Afghan chiefs. The empire of Delhi at the time of his accession had really ceased to exist. It was broken up into a large number of kingdoms and principalities. Bahlol Lodi inherited only Delhi with a small territory around it. Provinces like Multan, Jaunpur, Bengal and Malwa had each its separate ruler. The first task of Bahlol Lodi therefore was to restore the prestige of Delhi and break up the Hindu-Rajput revival under the lead of Mewar. He repeatedly attacked Jaunpur and in 1476 A.D., annexed it to Delhi. He also extended his authority over Kalpi, Dolpur and Gwalior. Simple in habits and possessing a sterling character, Bahlol reigned for thirty-eight years (1451–1488 A.D-). He was succeeded by his son Sultan Sikandar (1488–1517 A.D.), who followed the policy of his father in suppressing the turbulent feudatories. He extended the power of Delhi over Benares and Bihar. He founded the town of Agra which henceforth was to supersede Delhi as the metropolis of Hindustan. Sikandar exercised strict control over the Amirs and centralised all authority in his own hands. He tried his best to encourage agriculture and trade, and prevented official corruption and embezzlement of public money. He loved the company of the learned and he himself could compose Persian verses. He died in 1517 A.D. and was followed by Ibrahim Lodi (1517–1526 A.D.) who from the very beginning, disgusted the nobles by his arrogant behaviour. Jaunpur revolted under Ibrahim's own brother Jalal, who was however defeated and put to death by the Lodi king. The governor of Bihar openly raised the standard of

The Lodis (1451-1526 A.D.).

revolt. The Lodi Sultan also sent an army against Rana Sangha Sessodia of Chittor but it failed to hold its own. At last Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab invited Babar, the Mughal ruler of Kabul, to invade the country.

The Invasion of Babar

About Babar and his antecedents we shall read in another chapter. It is enough now for our purpose to know that in 1524 A.D. he advanced upon Lahore and took possession of it. Again in 1525 A.D. he sent a small army under Alam Khan and Daulat Khan who were however defeated by Ibrahim Lodi under the walls of Delhi In the meantime, Daulat Khan proved treacherous as he had ambitions of his own. Babar pursued him into the hills and secured his submission. Then he proceeded along the foot of the hill to the Sutlej and took the direct route to Delhi. At Panipat he won a decisive victory over Ibrahim who was slain. Delhi and Agra were at once occupied by Babar who thus founded the famous Mughal empire.

Defections from the Empire of Delhi-Local Dynasties

In the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak the Delhi empire extended from the Himalayas to the Coromandel coast and from the Indus to East Bengal. But owing to his eccentric rule and the consequent disorders, two large defections took place in the south ; that of Telingana which recovered its power, and of Vijayanagar which rose in the place of the Hoysalas. In the result the Muhammadan frontier was confined to the Krishna on the south. The authority of Delhi had also to be withdrawn from the Deccan where a successful rebellion of the Amirs resulted in the formation of the Bahmani kingdom. Shortly before this, Bengal had declared its Independence. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Gujarat and Jaunpur raised the standard of revolt and established their separate political existence. Then came the invasion of Timur which weakened still further the fabric of the empire from which even Malwa and Khandesh seceded. We shall sketch briefly the history of some of these independent Muslim kingdoms of the north. It should be noted that although there had been large defections from the empire of Delhi, yet the dynasties that rose up were only independent Muhammadan kingdoms and the rise of these therefore meant the further consolidation of Muhammadan power in India. In the sub-Himalayan regions, parts like Kangra, Nepal and Bhutan remained independent. In the centre the Rajput states struggled on as bravely as they could against the

Muslim power both in the north and in the south. The leading Mussalman states that were independent were Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Kashmir, Khandesh and Malwa.

Bengal

Bengal was conquered originally by Muhammad Bhaktiyar Khilji and was but nominally subject to Delhi. Bhaktiyar established his capital at Lakhnauti on the left bank of the Ganges in the Malwa district. His successors extended considerably the Mussalman dominion of Bengal. In 1225-26 A.D. Sultan Altamish of the Slave dynasty conquered Bengal and made his second son governor of the province. Several governors subject to Delhi followed one after another. One of them, Tughril Khan, a slave of Balban, declared himself independent in 1279 A. D., and defeated the Delhi forces. He was, however, put down by Balban. The next five governors were all members of the house of Balban. Within its own borders Bengal was often divided against itself. Civil wars and succession disputes were very common. Bengal was, however, governed very ably by the line of Elyas Shah (1340—1407 A. D.) Elyas and his successors changed their capital from Lakshnauti to Pandua and erected some stately buildings there. In 1407 A. D., the dynasty of Elyas was superseded by a line of Hindu princes which was in its turn expelled by a descendant of Elyas Shah. A line of Abyssinian slaves ruled for a few years and in 1493 A. D., the throne passed to a family of Arab Sayyads. Hussain Shah, the first of the Sayyads (1493—1523 A. D.), attained great glory and position. He resisted the aggressions of Sikandar Lodi of Delhi and maintained his power unimpaired. His grandson was conquered by the Mughal Emperor Humayun in 1538 A. D. But Bengal was afterwards lost to the famous Afghan soldier, Sher Khan Sur. When the Sur dynasty occupied the Delhi throne, Bengal was governed by its representatives. After a few more changes of fortune the country was conquered and annexed by Akbar (1575—76 A. D.)

Jaunpur (1394-1476 A. D)

In the time of the last of the Tughlaks, his minister, Khwaja Jahan, founded an independent dynasty at Jaunpur. He was so powerful that the title of Malik-us-Sharqi (Lord of the East) was bestowed upon him. The best of the rulers of the Sharqi line was the talented Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (1400—40 A. D.). He encouraged art and literature and in his time Jaunpur became a famous centre of Muslim learning in the east. The last king was Hussain Shah (1459—76 A. D.). He was expelled by the Delhi troops

under Bahlol Lodi. Though defeated he continued to intrigue to regain his throne. In the end, the Sultan of Delhi defeated him (1493 A. D.) and Hussain ended his days as a refugee in Bengal.

Kashmir

For a long time Kashmir remained inaccessible to the Muhammadan invaders. The last great Hindu ruler of Kashmir was Jayasimha (1128—55 A. D.). Even though the Hindus retained the kingdom for nearly two centuries after his death the country produced no king strong enough to consolidate the government. In 1337 A.D., a Persian adventurer, Shah Mir, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the state destroyed the last representative of the Hindu rule and established his power in the land (1337-38 A. D.). Under the successors of Shah Mir, Islam gradually spread in the country and a majority of the people were converted to the new faith. Of Shah Mir's successors, two deserve special mention. One was Sikandar (1386—1410 A. D.), otherwise known as the Idol-breaker and the other was Zain-ul-Abidin who adopted a tolerant policy towards the Hindus. He was the translator of a number of Sanskrit works into Persian and gave a strong impetus to the manufacture of shawls, paper and embroidered tapestry. He was known as the 'Bad-Shah' or the Great King of Kashmir. The kingdom was absorbed by the Mughals in 1586 A. D.

Gujarat

The fertile and wealthy kingdom of Gujarat was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi in 1297 A. D. Owing to its distance from the capital, the governors of that province were not always loyal to their masters. In the fourteenth century Zafar Khan, its governor, assumed independence, with the title of Muzafar Shah (1396). He was a very vigorous ruler and greatly extended his power. Ahmad Shah, his grandson who succeeded him (1411—33 A. D.), was the real founder of Gujarat's greatness. He built the city of Ahmadabad and filled it with many beautiful buildings. He had a very prosperous reign and although a bigoted Mussalman, he dispensed impartial justice to all. The next important ruler was Muhammad Shah Bigarah (1458—1511 A. D.), famous for his struggle with the Portuguese. He maintained a very good fleet and his name was a terror to the neighbouring countries. He had an extraordinary personality, ate an enormous quantity of food and meat and was immune against poison. Tales of his personal peculiarities spread even to Europe. According to the chroniclers, he was the best of all the kings of Gujarat. The last great ruler of Gujarat was

Bahadur Shah (1526—37 A. D.), who maintained fully the warlike traditions of his race. A very powerful ruler, he interfered in the affairs of the Bahmani Sultans,asserted his supremacy over Kandesh and Berar and captured Mandu, the capital of Malwa, Bilsar, Chandri and other places. He even annexed Malwa to Gujarat. In 1534 A.D., he stormed Chittor the capital of Mewar, but had to withdraw before the Mughal Emperor Humayun who chivalrously took up the cause of the Mewar prince. The Mughals then took possession of Gujarat. But Bahadur quickly recovered his power and drove them away in 1535 A.D. He was however killed in a struggle with the Portuguese (1537 A.D). After Bahadur Shah, Gujarat rapidly declined in power and in 1572 Akbar occupied the country.

Malwa

Malwa was for a long time under the Paramara Rajputs who ruled it from Dhara. Muhammadan rule was established firmly there in the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji. After Timur's invasion of North India, the Malwa governor, Dilawar Khan Ghori, proclaimed his independence in 1401 A. D. The rule of the Ghoris lasted from 1401—36 A. D. Their time was spent in waging wars with the neighbouring Sultan of Gujarat, with Jaunpur, and with the Bahmani kingdom in the south. The last of the Ghoris was a worthless debauchee, who was poisoned by his minister, Muhammad Khilji, who established a dynasty of his own. The long reign of Muhammad Khilji (1436—69 A.D.) was marked by successful wars with his neighbours. He was however, a just monarch and good soldier. His successor, Ghiyas-ud-din, had a peaceful reign of thirty-three years. Muhmud, the last Khilji ruler, involved himself in a succession dispute in Gujarat with the result that Bahadur Shah invaded Malwa and annexed it. Muhmud himself was deported to the fortress of Champanir (1531 A.D.). Malwa thus became a part of the Gujarat kingdom. Later on, as has been stated already, it became part and parcel of the Mughal empire.

Khandesh

Malik Raji Faruqi, a governor of the Tughlak king, Firuz, rebelled against his master and established his independence even before the king's death in 1399 A.D. His son, Nasir Khan, secured the strong hill fort of Asirgarh and founded Burhanpur on the Tapti and made it his capital. For long, Khandesh remained subject to Gujarat. "Protected by and allied to the Gujarat kings, the Faruqi house continued to take its full share in all the wars and disputes of the surrounding states." With the fall of Asirgarh to the Mughals

in 1599 A.D., the independence of Khandesh disappeared. It became the outpost of the Mughal advance into the Deccan (1599—1600 A.D.)

SECTION D. THE BAHMANI KINGDOM.

In this section we shall study in detail the history of the Bahmani kingdom, the origin and growth of which are to be attributed essentially to the eccentric rule of Muhammad bin Tughlak. We haxe seen how between 1343 A.D. and 1321 A.D. many rebellions broke out in the empire, The Deccan, in particular, was seething with discontent and insurrections were more frequent here than in any other part of the empire. To keep a strict watch over the malcontents, the Tughlak king appointed Aziz Hlmar, a low-born adventurer, as viceroy at Daulatabad in 1346 A,D. About the same time he despatched two nobles with instructions to bring to his presence, to Gujarat, those Amirs of the Deccan whose loyalty he suspected. The Amirs obeyed the call of the Emperor; but while half way they took counsel together, slew the imperial guard hastened back to Daulatabad and, after looting the treasury, proclaimed the independence of the Deccan. One of them, an old man, Ismail Makh, was elected king under the title of Nazir-ud-din. In great fury Muhammad bin Tughlak hastened to Daulatabad and defeated the rebels in a hotly contested battle. He could not, however, remain at Daulatabad as his presence was required urgently elsewhere in the empire. Leaving matters to be settled by his generals, the Sultan started towards Gujarat. In his absence the imperial forces were defeated by the conspirators, prominent among whom was one Hasan Kangu (or Gangu). Ismail Makh wisely resigned the royal dignity in favour of Hasan, who was the fittest to occupy the throne in such stirring times. Hasan now became king and assumed the title of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah.

The Origin of the Bahmani Kingdom

The career of Hasan the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, reads, like a romance. He was one of the peasants who had to change their residence from Delhi to Devagiri at the command of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Born in 1290 A. D. in humble circumstances he was employed as a field labourer by a Brahman of Delhi, Gangu by name. One day, while digging in a field Hasan discovered a pot containing gold coins. He very honestly reported the matter to his Brahman of Delhi master who, in his turn, informed the

From Peasant to Prince

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din (1320—25 A. D.) of the find. Hasan's honesty was soon rewarded. He was appointed a commander of 100 horses. He became a man of note and everybody predicted that Hasan would one day be a king. Stimulated to ambition in such circumstances, Hasan looked for fields of adventure. He had not to wait long. Muhammad bin Tughlak selected him as one of the officers to accompany his viceroy to the Deccan. At Devagiri, Hasan won the confidence of the people and doubtless enriched himself. an adventurer, he soon realised that he could better his prospects by joining the small band of foreign Amirs who were about to renounce their loyalty to Delhi. It was in this way that the peasant Hasan rose to the position of a prince. He was fifty-seven years old when he became king. In the hour of triumph he did not forget his old master, the Brahman Gangu, whom he appointed his finance minister.

Extent of the kingdom

The kingdom thus founded by Hasan extended as far as the Tapti on the north and the Tungabhadra and the Krishna on the south. Its eastern and western boundaries changed from time to time and at the close of the fifteenth century they extended from sea to sea. The capital of this infant kingdom was at Kulbarga now in the Nizam's dominions. Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah divided his kingdom into four provinces or *tarafs*—Kulbarga, Daulatabad, Berar and Bidar. Each province was governed by a governor who enjoyed large powers. Ala-ud-din died of malaria in February 1358 A. D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad Shah I.

Muhammad Shah I (1358—75)

The reign of Muhammad was full of bloody wars undertaken against the two neighbouring kings of Warangal and Vijayanagar. These two claimed and demanded restoration of all lands taken possession of by the Sultan. Muhammad's reply was an attack on Warangal, whose ruler was compelled to cede Golconda to the Bahmani. The war with Vijayanagar was waged for flimsy grounds. In a moment of intoxication the Sultan ordered a draft on the Vijayanagar treasury to be paid to certain court singers. Bukka Raya, the Hindu king of Vijayanagar, enraged at the insult, seized the rich Doab of Raichur between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Raichur from this time onwards became a veritable bone of contention between the two powers. In the course of his compaign, the Sultan invested even the great city of Vijayanagar and

slaughtered the population. Bukka Raya had to sue for peace. After a vigorous reign of seventeen years, the Sultan died in 1375 A.D.

Successors of Muhammad

Mujahid Shah, Muhammad's eldest son (1373—77 A. D.) and after him Muhammad Shah, the youngest son of the founder of the dynasty, occupied the throne. Then followed a period of intrigue and revolution among the inmates of the palace. Order was restored in the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom in the time of Firuz Shah, the eighth Sultan (1397—1422 A. D.) He was one of the most gifted of Bahmani rulers. In his time the kingdom attained its highest glory. The Sultan appointed only learned men as officers. He himself was a great soldier. He undertook twenty-four campaigns and thereby acquired the greater part of Telingana. The long truce between the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagar was unfortunately broken in the time of Firuz. The cause of the war was Prince Bukka, the impetuous son of Harihara II, the Raya of Vijayanagar. By treachery and stratagem, Firuz was able to kill the prince. He also crossed the Krishna and massacred the entire Hindu forces. A clever and beautiful dancing girl, Nihal by name, was the cause for a second war between the Sultan and Devaraya, the king of Vijayanagar. Once again the unfortunate inhabitants of Vijayanagar were butchered by the Muslim forces. About 1420 A. D. Firuz led an attack against Pangal, a strong fortress on the frontier of the Warangal State. But he failed to take it. Firuz was a great builder He built a city not far from Kulbarga and named it Firuzabad. At Kulbarga itself he caused to be constructed a great mosque, planned in imitation of the one at Cordova in Spain. "It is the only large mosque in India." says V. A. Smith, "which is completely roofed."

After Firuz

Hasan Khan, the eldest son of Firuz, succeeded his father He gave himself up so entirely to the beautiful Nihal that the disgusted nobility ousted him from the throne and accepted one Ahmad Khan as their sovereign. Ahmad Shah (1422—35 A.D.) carried on the traditional war with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. He pillaged and destroyed the country around Vijayanagar and committed atrocities that beggared description. He also marched towards Warangal besieged the city and annexed the whole country. He, however, failed in Gujarat. He died in February 1435 A.D. Before his death, the Sultan changed his capital from Kulbarga to Bidar, a much better place from the climatic as well as the military point of view. Ahmad was succeeded by

Ala-ud-din Shah, his eldest son (1435—57 A.D.). His reign was full of domestic troubles and internal feuds between the Shias* and the Sunnis which in the end broke up the unity of Muslim dominion in the Deccan. The next reign was that of Humayun, nicknamed Zalim (1457—61 A.D.)' a tyrant of the worst type. In 1461 A.D.; Nizam Shah, a boy of nine succeeded him. He however, died of heart failure in July 1463. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Muhammad Shah III, in whose time the Bahmani kingdom attained its zenith (1463—82 A.D.). The chief incidents of his reign were the recovery of Belgaum and Goa from the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar, the subjugation of the feudal lord of Kondapalli for an act of disloyalty, and a raid for booty on Conjeevaram. While at Kondapalli, Muhammad Shah destroyed the Hindu temple and murdered the Brahman priests, an act which earned for him the title of Ghazi. But the Deccani Sultans read in this foul and wicked deed nothing but evil for the Bahmanis. The foulest deed of this Sultan was the murder of his aged minister Kwaja Muhmmad Gawan, the ablest and most intelligent minister the Bahmani line ever had. This brutal murder of one, who, more then anyone else, was responsible for administrative progress in the Bahmani kingdom, sent a thrill of indignation throughout the Sultan's dominion and directly paved the way for its ruin. The next reign, that of Muhammad III (1482—1618 A.D.), was an unceasing period of murder and intrigue. In this reign, the various provincial governors became practically independent and each was trying to set up a separate government in his territory. By 1526 A.D., the great kingdom established by Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah was split up into five separate and independent Sultanates, namely Berar and Ahmadnagar in the north, Bijapur and Golconda in the south and Bidar in the centre.

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* It may be noted that the Muhammadans of the Deccan in the mediaeval times were sharply divided into two sections, the Shiahs and the Sunnis. Muslims of foreign extraction who entered India as adventurers, such as the Mughals, Persians, Turks and Arabs were Shiahs. The Sunnis were Deccani Muslims, most of them being converted Hindus. The latter had the support of the Abyssinian settlers in the country. In point of military valour and general political intelligence, the foreigners excelled the Sunnis and hence they were employed frequently by local Muhammadan states as civil servants and leaders of forces.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HINDU REACTION

SECTION A

THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR

We have seen that the great raid undertaken by Malik Kafur in the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji had shaken the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan to their very foundations. The subsequent tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughlak merely confirmed the worst fears the Hindu rulers of the south entertained in regard to Muslim activities. In the words of Robert Sewell "everything seemed to be leading up to but one inevitable end—the ruin and devastation of the Hindu provinces, the annihilation of their old royal houses, the destruction of their religion, their temples and their cities." From this catastrophe, South India was saved by the energy and genius of two brothers, Harihara and Bukka. These were the sons of one Sangama probably they fled away from Warangal when it was attacked by the Muhammadans in 1323 A. D. According to one authority, Muhammad bin Tughlak, who seemed to have been struck with the valour of Harihara, raised him to the dignity of the chief of Anagundi, a strong fort on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra. Harihara, finding his position at Anagundi rather insecure, crossed the river and along with his brother, Bukka, founded in 1336 A. D., a new city and named it Vijayanagar. In this task the two brothers were aided by their Guru, Madhava or Vidyaranya who was anxious to preserve the Hindu Dharma in the south against the inconoclastic zeal of the Muhammadans. The advent of the Muhammadans south of the Krishna, the two brothers clearly perceived, meant disaster for Hindu cu. ture. Indeed the object of the two brothers in establishing the kingdom of Vijayanagar would appear to have been not only to prevent Muslim advance into the south, but to preserve the Hindu religion from attacks by foreigners.

Origin of Vijayanagar

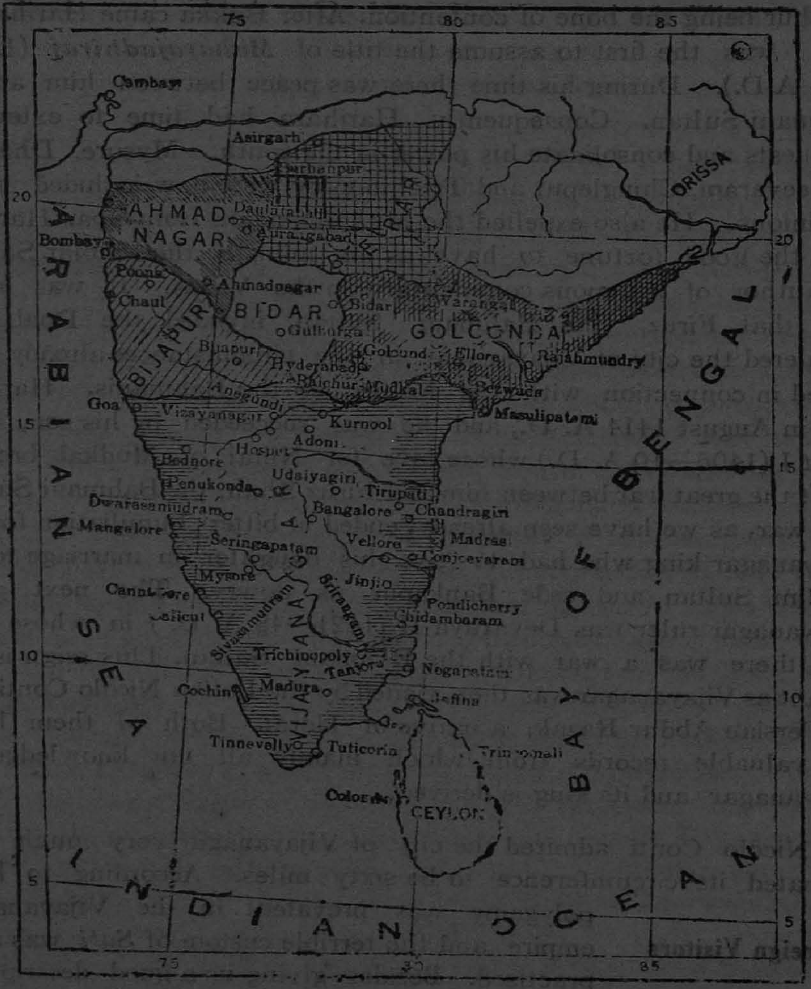
Harihara, the founder of the Vijayanagar state, died in 1343 A.D. and the work of consolidating the dominion fell to Bukka Raya. The Hindu states in the south realising the danger from the Muslims, willingly and most readily acknowledged the leadership of Bukka, who had, therefore, no difficulty in extending his kingdom from sea to

Early Kings

sea. His greatest task, however, lay towards the north where the Bahmani Sultans had consolidated their power. Bukka reigned from 1343--76 A. D. As has been narrated already there were bloody wars between Bukka and the Bahmani Sultan, the rich and fertile Doab of Raichur being the bone of contention. After Bukka came Harihara II, who was the first to assume the title of *Maharajadhiraj* (1379—1404 A.D.). During his time there was peace between him and the Bahmani Sultan. Consequently, Harihara had time to extend his conquests and consolidate his power in the south. Mysore, Dharwar, Conjeevaram, Chingleput and Trichinopoly were now included in his dominions. He also expelled the Muhammadans from Goa. Harihara had the good fortune to have as his minister the scholar Sayana, the author of a famous commentary on the Vedas. It was in his time that Firuz, the Bahmani Sultan, invaded the Doab and plundered the city of Vijayanagar in the circumstances already mentioned in connection with the history of the Bahmanis. Harihara died in August 1414 A. D., and he was succeeded by his son, Deva Raya I (1406—10 A. D.) whose love for Nihal of Mudkal brought about the great war between him and Firuz Shah, the Bahmani Sultan. The war, as we have seen already, ended in bitter humiliation for the Vijayanagar king who had to give his daughter in marriage to the Muslim Sultan and cede Bankapur as dowry. The next great Vijayanagar ruler was Devaraya II (1421—48 A. D.) in whose time also there was a war with the Bahmani Sultan. This reign is important as Vijayanagar was then visited by the Italian Nicolo Conti and the Persian Abdur Razak, a native of Herat. Both of them have left valuable records from which mainly all our knowledge of Vijayanagar and its king is derived.

Foreign Visitors

Nicolo Conti admired the city of Vijayanagar very much and estimated its circumference to be sixty miles. According to him, polygamy was prevalent in the Vijayanagar empire and the terrible custom of *Sati* was also practised. Besides giving us a good description of the many festivals that were held, he mentions about the diamond mines of Golconda and the coinage and currency of the country. Slavery was prevalent, insolvent debtors contributing largely to the number of slaves. According to the Italian traveller, the army of Deva Raya numbered a million men and more. Twenty years later Abdur Razak, a Persian ambassador, visited the court of Deva Raya. He has left a detailed account of the city, its forts and fortifications, its buildings and bazaars and its splendour and riches.



MAP OF SOUTH INDIA AND THE DECCAN
Showing the Bahmani and Vijayanagar Kingdoms

Very little is known of the successors of Deva Raya II. The period after Deva Raya seems to have been a troublesome one, and all that we can say definitely is that about 1486 A.D., one Narsinga Saluva, the powerful chief of Chandragiri, deposed the last king of the first dynasty (Sangama line) and ascended the throne himself. He had practically to recover the south which had fallen away from Vijayanagar in the last days of the Sangama rule and guard the empire against the Gajapati and the Bahmani. He was succeeded by a weak son, Immadi Narsinga, who was killed by his general, Narasa Nayakar, a Tuluva. This is known as the second usurpation.

The First and Second Usurpations

The dynasty started by Narasa has left a great name behind it. Its best and great representative was Krishna Deva Raya (1509–29 A.D.). He found the empire in a state of disorder. Its finances were almost ruined. His first task therefore was to bring order out of chaos. He had also to subdue many recalcitrant chiefs. He subdued the forest chiefs in the middle region, proceeded against the rebel Raja of Ummatur, captured the strong fortress of Sivasamudram and Seringapatam, and in 1513 A.D. marched against Udayagiri in the Nellore district and reduced it. Krishna Deva Raya next proceeded against Kondavid belonging to the king of Orissa and took possession of it. In general, it may be said that he brought the whole of the eastern dominions under this complete subjection. Westwards, his conquests extended as far as Salsette. His greatest achievement however, was the recovery of the much-disputed fortresses of Raichur and Mudkal. With an army of one million men he advanced towards Raichur in May 1520 A.D. Adil Shah, the Bijapur Sultan, advanced with a large force and lay entrenched within nine miles of Raichur. To start with, the Muslims fought ferociously and even defeated the Hindus but Krishna Deva Raya rallied and began to assume the offensive again. His personal bravery inspired the soldiers to fresh efforts and at last Raichur was captured. The success of the Hindus was due largely to the assistance rendered by the Portuguese. The victorious Krishna Deva Raya next entered the Bijapur territory and razed to the ground the fortress of Kulbarga. The results of the battle of Raichur were very important. It weakened the power and prestige of the Bijapur Sultan. It also led to the subsequent combination of the Muslim forces of the Deccan which

Krishna Deva Raya

Battle of Raichur

in the end brought about the ruin of the Hindu empire. The rule of Krishna Deva Raya extended over the whole of South India. His kingdom comprised the whole of the Madras Presidency including the Indian states of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Krishna Deva Raya was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. In his court flourished the *Ashta-dig-gajas* or the eight distinguished poets. A great builder, he built many temples and endowed them with liberal grants. He died in 1529 A.D.

Successors of Krishna Deva Raya

This warrior king was succeeded by a brother, the craven-hearted Achyuta Raya (1529–42 A.D.). He practically lost all that had been gained for the empire by Krishna Deva Raya. Factions grew in the city and the king did not scruple to invite his enemy, Adi Shah of Bijapur, to help him. This worthless king died in 1542 and was succeeded by his brother's son, Sadasiva (1542–70). Sadasiva Raya was king only in name. The royal power was exercised by his minister, Rama Raya, together with his brothers, Tirumala and Venkatadri. This reign witnessed the beginning of the end of the Vijayanagar empire. We shall study in the next section the causes that brought about the destruction of the Vijayanagar empire.

Administration

The big empire of Vijayanagar was divided into many provinces each of which was in the charge of a provincial governor. These governors paid a fixed revenue to the state and undertook besides to furnish troops when called upon to do so. Justice was administered according to local custom. The village panchayat continued to function as in the days of yore. Land was the chief source of royal revenue. The criminal code was not severe although we read of instances where the punishments were cruel and barbarous.

Art and Literature

The Vijayanagar sovereigns exhibited great originality in their buildings. They evolved a distinct school of architecture, used the most difficult material with success and were served by a brilliant company of sculptors and painters. The stately buildings of Madura which still survive, represent the style adopted by the Nayak kings of Madura, who were originally viceroys under the empire. The Vijayanagar kings were great patrons of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. Krishna Deva Raya was himself a poet and he was known as Andhra Bhoja. In his court there flourished, as has been stated already, the *Ashtadig-gajas* or the eight poets, the most famous of whom was

Allasani Peddana. During the palmy days of the empire it carried on brisk trade with the Portuguese, whose prosperity depended upon their trade with Vijayanagar. With the downfall of Vijayanagar the Portuguese power began to decay.

SECTION B

THE DECCAN SULTANATES

We have seen that the Bahmani kingdom was split up into five independent Sultanates. These were (1) the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, (2) the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar (3) the Kutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda, (4) the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar and (5) the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. Of these five states, Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar were large and powerful. Berar and Bidar were comparatively small and fell easy victims to the stronger kingdoms. Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were almost always at war. The chief cause of the never-ending struggle between them was the fortress of Sholapur. Golconda attempted to maintain the balance of power between the two parties as the destruction of either of them meant danger to her very existence.

The Five Sultanates

The history of Berar was one of constant quarrel with Ahmadnagar. It therefore refused to join the confederacy against Vijayanagar to be described later on. After the battle of Talikota (1565 A. D.) the other Muslim states wanted to punish Berar for her neutrality. The little principality was invaded by Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. The confused politics of the state favoured the interference of the neighbouring states and in 1594 A. D. it was annexed by Ahmadnagar. Later on, Akbar annexed it to the Mughal dominions and made his second son its governor.

Berar

Bidar is the ancient Vidarbha. It remained in comparative obscurity during the whole of what we may call the Hindu period of Indian History. Ala-ud-din Hasan captured the city of Bidar in 1347 A.D. and proclaimed himself king immediately after this event, as Bahman Shah. He made Bidar the headquarters of one of his governors. The ninth Bahmani Sultan, Ahmad Shah, was so charmed with the climate and situation of Bidar that he changed his capital from Kulbarga to it. After the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, Bidar had to fight for her very existence. Thanks to the craft and political acumen of its Sultans, the Barids, It was able to maintain its independence for some time. Its policy was to join other Muslim

Bidar

states against Bijapur. On occasions it did not even disdain the help of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. Most of the Sultans of Bidar maintained their traditional hostility to Bijapur. In 1619 A.D., Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur marched against Bidar, took captive Ali Razid its ruler, and annexed Bidar to Bijapur. In 1656 A.D., the Sultan of Ahmadnagar laid siege to the fortress of Bidar and after a strenuous campaign annexed it to the Mughal empire. To-day the chief interest of Bidar consists in its magnificent tombs and other structures of great architectural beauty.

Golconda

The kingdom of Golconda was extensive and rich in resources. One of its best rulers was Ibrahim (died in 1580 A.D.), who joined the Muhammadan confederacy against Vijayanagar in 1565 A.D. He treated the Hindus in his state well and even appointed them to high offices. The dynasty had a glorious history till 1611 when it was mixed up with the affairs of the Mughals. Golconda was annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1687 A. D.

Ahmadnagar

The Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was founded by Nizam-ul mulk. His able son, Malik Ahmad, founded the city of Ahmadnagar. He was a Sultan of great talents and high character. The later history of Ahmadnagar was one of struggle against the Mughals. It received a rude shock in the time of Akbar. Even Akbar could not completely subdue it. It was annexed finally to the Mughal dominions by Shah Jahan in 1637 A. D.

Bijapur

The founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur was the famous Yusuf Adil Khan. A very popular ruler, he treated the Hindus with great consideration. He attempted to recover Goa from the Portuguese but failed. His son, Ismail, followed the policy of his father. After him, came Ibrahim Adil Shah I, whose vices and follies brought nothing but discredit to the Bijapur state. In his time there were party factions at Vijayanagar and at the invitation of one of the parties, Ibrahim marched on that city and returned with large presents. He died in 1557 A.D. It was in the time of Ali Adil Shah, the next Sultan, that the epoch-making battle of Talkota took place. To the circumstances of this great event in the history of South India we shall soon advert.

It has been mentioned already that Sadasiva Raya, who succeeded Achyutha Raya on the Vijayanagar throne, was a mere puppet in

the hands of his unscrupulous minister, Rama Raya. The latter lost no opportunity to interfere in the confused politics of the Deccan Sultanates. It was this interference and his disgusting cruelty towards his friends and foes alike that ultimately brought about the ruin of the Vijayanagar empire. In 1543 the headstrong Rama Raya entered into an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golconda against Bijapur, which was however saved by its able minister, Asad Khan. Again in 1558 A.D. Rama Raya entered into an alliance with Bijapur, his former enemy, against Ahmadnagar. Ferishta, the historian of the times, thus describes the cruelties perpetrated by Rama Raya in the course of this war:—

Rama Raya

"Ali Adil Shah having called Rama Raya to his assistance, they in concert divided the dominions of Hussain Nizam Shah and laid them waste in such a manner that from Porunder to Khyber and from Ahmadnagar to Daulatabad not a mark of population was to be seen. The infidels of Vijayanagar who many years had been wishing for such an event left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques and did not even respect the sacred Koran. Thus the barbarous activities of Rama Raya's forces, coupled with his own insolence towards his Muslim ally, eventually led to the combination of all the Deccan Sultanates, who were bent on a war for the extermination of the Hindus.

Battle of Talikota or Rakhas Tagdi (1565 A.D.)

The combined forces of the Sultans reached the small fortress of Talikota in the neighbourhood of the Krishna. Although Rama Raya had information about the movement of the Muslim forces, he remained unperturbed. He, however, collected a vast force and along with his two brothers, Thirumala and Venkatadri, reached a small village known as Rakhas Tagdi, a few miles south of the Krishna. A bitter battle was fought here. It looked as if the Hindu forces would win and Rama Raya himself was witnessing the fight from a litter and personally superintending the operations; but all of a sudden the unexpected happened and the destiny of a big empire hung in the balance. An elephant belonging to Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, mad with the excitement of the battle, suddenly rushed forward exactly towards the spot where the aged minister, Rama Raya, was viewing the scene. The effect was tremendous. Before Rama Raya could escape, he was taken prisoner and immediately taken to the camp of Nizam Shah. He was forthwith beheaded. Seeing that their

chief was dead, the Vijayanagar forces melted away from the battlefield.

Although they lost the battle, the Hindus hoped that their city would be safe but in this they were mistaken. The army soon reached the city gates. There was panic within the splendid and populous capital. The cowardly princes of the royal family removed as much of the jewellery and gold as could be carried on the backs of available elephants. Thirumala, the brother of the murdered Rama Raya, conducted Sadasiva safely to the south. The defenceless city was abandoned to the tender mercies of the Muslims. They came and slew the wretched population, men, women and children. The city was wiped out. Nothing now remains of the once glorious city of Vijayanagar except buildings in various stages of decay and even these are only tenanted by tigers and other wild beasts.

Fall of the City of Vijayanagar

We may now summarise the political results of the battle of Talikota. In the first place, it shattered a big empire to pieces and opened the flood-gates of Muslim invasion into Peninsular India. Secondly, it led to the direct expansion of both Bijapur and Golconda, which now annexed large portions of the newly destroyed empire. The distant viceroys of the Hindu empire established their independence, the most important of whom were the Nayaks of Madura. We also find the beginnings of a great Mysore State which rose on the ruins of Vijayanagar. The fall of Vijayanagar led again to the collapse of the Portuguese power in India as the Portuguese lost their enormous trade with the Hindu kingdom.

Results of the Battle

After the death of Rama Raya in the battle-field of Talikota, his brother, Thirumala, became the guardian of the puppet king Sadasiva. He took the king to Penukonda in the south, which now became the capital of the empire. According to one authority, Thirumala murdered Sadasiva and usurped the throne. This is sometimes spoken of as the third usurpation. Thirumala died in 1575 and was succeeded by his son, Sri Ranga. But the Golconda Sultan would not give him peace and he began to lay siege to Penukonda itself. The king was taken prisoner and all the territory, north of Penukonda, passed on to the Muhammadans. Once again, therefore, the capital of the Hindu empire had to be changed to Chandragiri. Venkatapati (1586—1604 A.D.) was Sri Ranga's successor and in his

The Later Empire of Vijayanagar

time the empire began to crumble. There were defections everywhere. The Nayak viceroy of Madura became practically independent and Raja Wodeyar, a chieftain of Mysore, took Seringapatam. After Venkatapati, his adopted son, Sri Ranga II, ascended the throne (1614 A.D.). The decay of the empire was now complete. There was also a civil war within the rapidly disintegrating empire in the course of which all the members of the royal family were butchered except a child, who, thanks to the help rendered by a loyal chief, Yachama Nayak, was taken to Tanjore for protection. The child was later on raised to the throne as Rama II. The Muhammadans who were not slow to take advantage of such a confusion began to harass the more northern parts of the kingdom. It was, therefore, found necessary to change the imperial capital from Chandragiri to Velur. The name of a loyal chieftain who helped Rama II must be recorded. He was Chenna, the brother-in-law of Yachama Nayak already mentioned. It was a halfbrother of this Chenna, known as Ayyappa, that built the town of Madras and called it Chennapatnam in memory of his father. Rama II's successor was Sri Ranga, in whose time Chikka Deva Raya of Mysore absorbed much of what remained of the old Vijayanagar empire. After this Mysore success, Sri Ranga disappeared from history. Nothing more is known about his successors.

The Nayaks of the South

In the glorious days of the Vijayanagar empire, the distant provinces were governed by viceroys called Nayaks. But, after the fateful battle of Talikota, these Nayak chiefs converted their viceroyalties into independent kingdoms. Tirumal Nayak of Madura (1623—59) was the earliest to do so and his example was followed speedily by the Nayak chiefs of Tanjore, Jinji and Ikkeri. Of these, the Madura Nayaks distinguished themselves both for their extensive conquests and for their system of administration. The most powerful and best known of the Nayaks was Tirumal Nayak of Madura. He was served ably by a general, Ramappayya. His territories included the modern districts of Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Salem, Trichinopoly, Pudukottai and part of Travancore. Tirumal Nayak won undying fame by the magnificent buildings he erected in his capital city. Most of these can be seen even to-day and they continue to arouse the admiration of foreign visitors, who seldom fail to include Madura in the course of their Indian tour.

SECTION C

MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS (1351—1526 A.D.)

Dr. V. A. Smith says that it would be difficult to specify any definite benefit conferred upon India by the Bahmani dynasty. This opinion is not an exaggeration. This history of the Deccan Sultanates is a long tale of intrigue and wars involving wholesale slaughter of people. Yet a few silver lines appeared in the clouded political horizon. The fidelity displayed by the founder of the Bahmani line towards his former master, the Brahman Gangu, whom he appointed as his minister and the intelligent revenue administration of Muhammad Gawan are little oases in an otherwise barren desert devoid of 'fruitful ideal or valuable institutions.' Irrigation work on a pretty large scale was undertaken by the Bahmanis in the Telugu country but the increased revenue that accrued thereby was used to maintain large armies. The lot of the common people was miserable. A Russian merchant, Athanasius Nikitin, who travelled in the Deccan between 1417 and 1474 A.D., bears ample testimony to the misery of the masses The *Jazia*, a poll-tax on infidels, was levied on Hindus, while those who wanted to escape from it had to embrace Muhammadanism. A few of the Deccani Sultans encouraged learning. But it was naturally the *Mullah* that was patronised, not the Brahman Pandit. Higher education according to Muslim ideals received ample patronage at the hands of able ministers like Muhammad Gawan. The Deccani Sultans were great builders. The mountain fortresses of Gawilgarh and Narnala are considered the best specimens of the grandeur of design appropriate to mountain fortresses. The Sultan, as has been mentioned already, enriched Kulbarga and Bidar with stately monuments. The Bijapur buildings of the Adil Shahi kings are most remarkable and unequalled in India. One noteworthy feature of the Bahmani epoch was the growth of the chronicling spirit which found its best representative in Muhammad Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, who is a great, if not always trustworthy, authority for the Bahmani preiod.

Progress under the Bahmanis

Although the rule of the Muhammadans was considered very oppressive by the Hiudus, some branches of Hindu learning like philosophy, jurisprudence and logic, were assiduously cultivated by them during the time. Great centres of learning like Vikramasila and Navadvipa (Nuddea) produced authors who wrote commentaries on the ancient law books. Mithila also became a centre of uristic learning. Mention has been made already that under the aegis of the Hindu rule in Vijayanagar commentaries bearing upon the religion of the Vedas had been written by Madhava and Sayana. There flourished another famous minister at the court of Vijayanagar, Madhavamantrin, known as the propagandist of the faith of the Upanishads. Quite a different kind of literature was growing during this period in Rajputana and in the north. Here vernacular literature was given a special impetus by a religious revival which came in the shape of the Bhakti cult. The earliest bardic chronicles of Rajputana belong to the epoch of Prithi Raja, whose court was adorned by Chand Bardai, the author of *Prithi Raj Raso* written in Hindi. A new development in Hindi literature was created by the growth of the Vaishnava movement in North India. "Bhakti was essentially a popular religious movement and this is emphasised by its use of the vernacular rather than Sanskrit in the vast amount of literature it produced." Ramananda (born in the fourteenth century) founded the

Hindu Literary and Religious Revival

sect of Ramanandis, which admitted into its order all classes of people without any distinction. His followers and successors entirely gave up Sanskrit and wrote in Hindi instead. Earlier than Ramananda was Jaya Deva, the author of the famous *Gita Govinda*. Namdeva, a devotee of Vithoba of Pandharpur in the Maratha country probably lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century and he wrote a large number of hymns in Marathi and Hindi as well. His influence was great in Northern India and Maharashtra. There was again Kabir, the founder of the *Kabirpanti sect* (1440-1518 A.D.) A disciple of Ramananda, he condemned idolatry, rejected the doctrine of incarnations and also the meaningless ceremonies and rites, of the Hindus. He was the pioneer of Hindi literature and may be styled truly the father of Hindi hymns as well. The founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Nanak (b. in 1469) also came under the influence of Kabir. Another noted follower of Ramananda was Ravi Das Sharmar, who founded an important Vaishnava sect of Hindustan, while, Mira Bai, the Saint of Rajputana (b. in 1470), was one of the most famous Hindi poetesses and devotees of the Krishna cult. Referring to the cults that were established during the Muhammadan period, we must note that while the followers of Ramananda gave the name Rama to the supreme God, others worshipped God in His incarnation of Krishna. The Krishna cult in the north was spread by a Brahman from the south, Vallabacharya (d. in 1501 A.D.) His disciples wrote largely in the western Hindi tongue. In Bengal the great saint Chaitanya (b. in 1485 A.D.) spread the Krishna cult by rousing his followers to devotional zeal by his own Sankirtan and ecstatic dances. Krishna Iyrics were also written by writers like Vidyapati and Chandidas.

CHAPTER IX

MUGHAL INDIA

SECTION A

BABAR AND HUMAYUN

In an earlier chapter we studied the circumstances under which Babar found it easy to plant the rule of the Mughals in India. He was of the race of the Mughals and closely related to the two great scourges of the east, namely, Chingiz Khan and Timur. He was born on Friday, 14th February, 1483 A. D. His father was the ruler of a small state, Farghana now a petty principality in Russian Turkestan. Baber's early days were full of trouble. He was menaced by invasions on the three sides of his little Farghana. These border raids gave him, however, considerable military training. Babar's great ambition was to secure the throne of Samarkand. A lucky circumstance enabled him to do so. In 1457 A. D., taking advantage of a succession dispute, he led his forces and occupied Samarkand. Very soon, however he lost both Samarkand and his patrimony. He spent a few years in vain attempts to recover

Early Career of Babar

Farghana, his paternal inheritance. Finding it hopeless, he turned his thoughts towards Kabul. In 1504 A. D., with the help of a few Mughal soldiers, he effected the conquest of Kabul. Next he consolidated his position by the further conquest of Khandahar and Herat. But every now and then his thought turned towards Samarkand, of which he longed to take possession. He befriended the Persian Shah who helped him to reconquer it. But this time Babar was not liked by the people as he was the friend of the hated Shiahs of Persia. About 1514 A. D., therefore, he was forced to quit Samarkand; it was again the work of destiny. Failure in the regions of the Oxus prompted Babar to undertake greater ventures in Hindustan.

Babar in India

Before his conquest of India, Babar had ventured on many expeditions. In 1519 A. D., he laid siege to Bajour, west of the Indus. Next he scoured the north-west part of the Punjab. It was on this occasion that he became acquainted with the weak political condition of Delhi. It was then that the disloyal governor of the Punjab, Daulat Khan, invited Babar to take up arms against Ibrahim. The result was the battle of Panipat in which Babar came out successful. The year 1528 A. D., therefore, is an epoch-making one for in that year was laid the foundation of a great empire which swayed the destinies of the Indian people for more than two centuries.

After Panipat

After the fateful battle of Panipat, Babar took possession of Delhi and Agra. At Delhi a provisional government was established. But now Babar experienced the greatest difficulty. His soldiers began to grumble and wanted to go back to Kabul. Like Alexander, Babar harangued his followers and encouraged them by pointing out the still unsubdued provinces as the prize of their enterprise. Babar's speech, unlike Alexander's on a similar occasion, produced an immediate and telling effect. Most of his officers decided to stay in India and carry on the work of Babar.

Battle of Sikri

The Rajput princes were till then only watching the game of Babar. But when they found that Babar preferred to stay in India, their consternation knew no bounds. Singram Singh of Mewar was the leader of the Rajput confederacy. He gathered a large army and moved towards Sikri, twenty three miles west of Agra. Thither went Babar to meet the flower of the Rajput chivalry. In the battle that ensued Singram Singh was defeated and Babar gained

additional glory. The results of the battle of Sikri were important. At one stroke, Babar removed once for all the menace of Rajput supremacy. The Rajput confederacy itself was broken up and the Mughal empire in India was established firmly. Babar's next successful campaigns were directed against the comparatively weaker combinations of Afghan forces in Bihar and Bengal.

Last Days of Babar

Babar's health was giving way under the stress of the severe climate of Northern India and he consequently suffered from mental depression. It was at this time that an attempt was made by Khawaja, Babar's life-long friend, to place on the throne Babar's sister's husband in preference to Humayun, the Emperor's son. But this conspiracy failed on account of the timely interference of Maham, Humayun's mother. Babar died on Monday, December 26th, 1530 A.D. He was buried upon the hill of Kabul overlooking a noble prospect of meadow and stream, a scene which he loved very much.

Character of Babar

The character of Babar is best studied in the *Memoirs* which he himself had written. He was a gentleman, gallant and true. According to an old writer, he possessed eight fundamental qualities—lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of gaining victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God; ability to win the hearts of his soldiers and love of justice. Babar, as Stanley Lane-Peole says, was a link between Central Asia and India. 'He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk to the listless Hindu.' As general, as administrator and as man of letters, he is not unworthy to be classed with Julius Cæsar. He was the most admirable and lovable of all the Mughal kings.

Accession of Humayun

Humayun succeeded his father peacefully in 1530 A.D. The empire to which he succeeded was not a bed of roses. He had to face the formidable rivalry of his three brothers, the discontented members of the Lodi dynasty, the disloyal members of his own court, and, above all the Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal, who, though full of clannish jealousies among themselves, hated the Mughal much more than they did the infidel.

For the time being, the brothers of Humayun were pacified by the assignment of provinces to them. Kamran was given Kabul and Khandahar and the regions bordering the Indus and the Punjab.

Prince Hindal was given the governorship of Sambal. Askari, another brother obtained the *jagir* of Mewat. It will be seen from this that Humayun did not retain the recruiting ground of his military power for it was from Kabal that the Mughals obtained their hardy soldiers. As this was given away to his brother, Humayun suffered seriously later on and he had to look to Persia for military help. A powerful enemy of Humayun was Sultan Muhammad, a scion of the old dynasty, who attempted to capture Jaunpur. He was however, defeated and driven out. More powerful than he was the Afghan Sher Shah of the Sur family of whom we shall read in detail later on. He seems to have submitted temporarily to Humayun. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was yet another enemy of Humayun.

Enemies of Humayun

Humayun's attack on Gujarat was prompted both by self-defence and by a sense of chivalry. In regard to the former it should be mentioned that two disloyal Mirzas of his court had fled to Gujarat and taken shelter there. Humayun demanded their return from Bahadur Shah and when he refused to deliver them up, Humayun decided upon war. Col. Tod, the historian of Rajput chivalry, mentions another motive for his attacking Gujarat.* Bahadur Shah was attacking Chittor. The women of the royal household had performed the terrible rite of *Johur*. Before sacrificing herself, Princess Karnavati sought the protection of Humayun for her infant son. Flattered by this request from the Rajput queen, Humayun was resolved on war against Gujarat. Bahadur Shah was defeated at Mandu, the capital of Malwa, and he was chased through Gujarat to Cambay. The great fortress of Champanir was taken by storm, and Humayun exhibited conspicuous personal bravery in taking it. Bahadur Shah was, however, able to return to Gujarat and establish his power there.

Humayun and Bahadur Shah

During the absence of Humayun in Gujarat Sher Shah of the Sur family rose in open rebellion and quickly secured all Bihar and Bengal and even assumed the title of king. He also defeated the Mughal forces in two engagements, one at Chaunsa on the Ganges (June 1539) and the other before Kanauj (May 1540). The latter even resulted in Sher Shah capturing Delhi and Agra.

Sher Shah defeats the Mughal Forces

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* This story rests on the sole authority of Tod. Humayun's personal attendant, Jauhar, and Gulbadan Begum who accompanied Humayun during this expedition, say nothing about it.

It was in this way that Hindustan was lost to Humayun and Sher Shah established a brilliant though short-lived Afghan dynasty. Before we take up the history of the Sur dynasty, we shall complete the account of the career of Humayun, one of the most unfortunate kings, who spent a large part of his life in exile and misery.

Humayun goes to Sind

Deserted by his brothers and with no hopes of putting in a decent army on the field, Humayun fled to Sind at the invitation of a loyal vassal. He wandered from place to place through pathless deserts and suffered much. In the midst of his misery, his son, Akbar was born at Umarkot on November 23rd, 1542 A.D.

Humayun goes to Persia

Humayun got no help in Sind. In great disappointment he turned towards Khandahar; but his brother, Askari, who was ruling there came out with a large force to make him captive. The Emperor thereupon fled across the border of Baluchistan and reached the territory of the Shah of Persia. In the hurried fight, the infant Akbar was left behind. He was, however, taken care of and brought up properly by Askari.

Humayun recovers the Empire

The Shah of Persia agreed to help Humayun to recover his empire, provided he embraced the Shiah faith and also gave up Khandahar to him. Humayun agreed to this. With the help of the Persian forces he defeated his brother, Askari, and took Khandahar; but, instead of giving it to his benefactor, he retained it for himself. Next he invaded India in July 1555 A.D., and took both Delhi and Agra after defeating Sikandar, the Afghan ruler, at Sarhind.

Humayun's Character and death

It was only after a good deal of further fighting that he could consolidate his dominion. But, in the meanwhile, Humayun met with his death. He was on the roof of his palace and was descending therefrom when he heard the call for prayer. In his attempt to sit down till the call was over, he tumbled and fell headlong down the stairs on to the floor below. He died in January 1536 A.D. Humayun was nominally king for twenty-six years; but his effectual rule lasted only for ten years (1530—40). He was a lover of ease and pleasure and addicted to opium. Want of foresight almost ruined him. He was credulous and wanting in vigour, although on occasions he displayed bravery. He had, however, a markedly merciful temperament.

We shall now peep into the history of the short-lived Afghan Sur dynasty. This dynasty was founded by Sher Shah, who bore the name of Ferid. His father, Hassan, held two districts in Bihar, south of the Ganges. On the death of his father, Sher Shah succeeded to these estates. In those days, the possession of a district or a parganah carried with it administrative responsibilities. Sher Shah introduced many salutory reforms in his land-revenue administration, the main features of which were copied later on by Akbar. He discouraged the system of granting *jagirs* for services rendered and reserved to himself the right of resuming those already granted. Sher Shah was very kind to the agriculturists and allowed them to pay their rent either in kind or in money. He did away with the system of middlemen altogether. He fixed the payments for measuring fields and collecting taxes and punished severely those officers who oppressed the peasantry. At the end of Babar's reign, Sher Shah acquired the whole of Bihar. By a stratagem he acquired the strong and impregnable fortress of Chunar. Humayun, no doubt, realised the danger from Sher Shah and attacked him. The Afghan submitted for the time being only to reassert his authority later on. As has been narrated already, he defeated the Mughals at Chaunsa and even pursued the Emperor to Kanauj. He soon came into the possession of Agra, Delhi and Lahore and proclaimed a new dynasty, that of the Sur Afghans.

Career of Sher Shah

After he installed himself at Delhi, Sher Shah reduced the fortress of Gwalior and subdued Marwar. He also marched against Marwar and received the submission of its cowardly ruler. He led his forces against Chittor and Kalingar and, while conducting operations at the latter place, a chance shell burst and killed him (May 1545). Sher Shah reigned only for five years (1540—45 A. D.). During this short period, he achieved much. He made a large trunk road from Bengal to the north-west frontier. Trees were planted on both sides of the road, so as to give shade to the travellers. He introduced the Persian Mail (Post) system by means of which letters were carried by mounted couriers. He put down violent crime and meted out even-handed justice to all. During his time all factious feuds interncine troubles ceased. General peace and prosperity prevailed in the country.

His Administration

The successors of Sher Shah were weak and utterly incompetent to wield great responsibilities. He was succeeded by his second son,

Islam Shah; after him (1553), there was anarchy and one Adil Shah, a brother-in-law of Islam Shah, usurped the throne. When Humayun came back from Persia, he met Sikandar Sur, a nephew of Sher Shah, at Sarhind (November 1554) and defeated him. Thus ended ingloriously the short-lived Sur dynasty.

End of the Sur Dynasty

SECTION B

THE REIGN OF AKBAR

Akbar was only thirteen years of age when his father, Humayun, died. Although young, he had the good fortune to possess Bairam Khan as his guardian. He had been one of Humayun's most trusted servants. He lost no time in proclaiming Akbar emperor (February 1556). A good deal remained to be done before Akbar could call himself the real sovereign of Hindustan. The members of the Sur dynasty had still the courage to claim Delhi as their capital. Their interests were looked after by Hemu, a Hindu adventurer, who actually occupied Delhi and Agra. The Rajput clans of Rajasthan had regained their former position, Malwa, Gujerat, the Central Provinces and Orissa had all declared their independence. The Deccan Sultanates, however, were busy with their wars and political intrigues, and had little time left to think of Akbar. In the far south, there was the Vijayanagar empire now safe on account of its remoteness from Delhi. The Portuguese were plying their trade silently on the west coast and consolidating their political power. Such was the condition of India when Akbar ascended the throne.

Akbar's Accession

Akbar's immediate task was to put down Hemu, the Hindu adventurer. A Baniya by caste, Hemu was employed by the surviving member of the Sur-family. A general of repute, Hemu soon gathered a large force and defeated the Mughal forces near Delhi. Delhi and Agra fell to the Baniya. Flushed with success, he ignored his master and assumed the title of Vikramaditya and even struck out coins in his name. But Bairam Khan, the astute guardian of Akbar, could not be outwitted easily by the Baniya adventurer. Gathering what forces he could collect, Bairam proceeded to the now famous plain of Panipat. Although inferior in numbers on his side he inflicted a heavy defeat on Hemu who was taken prisoner in the battlefield. The faithful guardian now requested the king to cut off the head of Hemu with the royal hand and thus obtain the name of Ghazi. Akbar

Akbar and Hemu

did so. Thus was the Mughal empire again re established (November 1556) and it was in no small measure due to the prompt and energetic action of Bairam Khan. After the battle of Panipat, Akbar occupied Delhi and Agra and went in pursuit of Sikandar Sur who surrendered at Mankoti in Kashmir State. Between 1558 and 1560 Akbar conquered the larger portion of Hindustan including Gwalior, Ajmer and the province of Jaunpur.

Bairam's Dismissal

In the year 1560, Akbar attained the age of eighteen and his very first act was to dismiss his faithful and loyal servant, Bairam Khan. The bigotry of Bairam and his notion that the Hindus must be governed by the inexplorable law of the Koran were distasteful to Akbar. It is also known that Bairam's dismissal was brought about by the influence of the harem. Akbar ordered him to proceed to Mecca. There he was murdered by a private enemy.

Expansion of the Empire

From 1560 to 1567, Akbar was engaged in putting down rebellions among his own followers. These were the discontented members of the Mughal aristocracy who desired to usurp supreme power. Akbar never allowed them to get the upper hand. From 1567 onwards he was busy expanding his empire. These foreign wars did not absorb the entire time of Akbar; in the interval between the wars, he introduced many salutary reforms about which we shall read in detail later on.

Akbar and the Rajputs

Akbar's first military enterprise was directed against the Rana of Mewar, the proudest of the Rajput chivalry. The cause of the war was the proud attitude of the Rana who would not let any of the daughters of his family to enter the Mughal palace. Moreover Akbar could never feel himself secure in North India unless the two strong fortresses of Chittor and Ranthambhor in the free Rajput country were taken or reduced. In October 1567, he proceeded to invest Chittor, one of the most impregnable cities in Rajputana. Udai Singh was its ruler and when Akbar approached Chittor, he deserted the fort and in a most cowardly manner fled to the hills. The defence of the fort was therefore in the hands of a brave commander, Jaimal. The siege lasted nearly four months. In the end, Akbar, with the help of his heavy guns and mines, effected many breaches in the fortification. In the struggle, Jaimal the brave defender, was killed. As a consequence, the garrison gave up hope. The women in the fort performed *Johur* while the men

rushed forth sword in hand to die. The battle over, Akbar, to his eternal discredit, ordered a general massacre of the population. Chittor fell in February 1568. With the fall of Chittor the bulk of Rajputana was subdued. Many Rajput princes in Rajasthan gave their daughters in marriage to Akbar or to the members of his family, and in return they received high appointments in the State. In 1569 Ranthambhor was stormed and Kalanjar in Bundelkhand also opened its gates.

Annexation of Gujarat

Gujarat was the hot-bed of sedition against Delhi and the Emperor. Some of the nobles of the court who were either punished or disgraced by Akbar, fled to Gujarat where they created disorders. In 1572, Akbar led an expedition against Gujarat and annexed it to the empire. The annexation of Gujarat brought immense revenue to Akbar as he was able to control the rich sea-borne commerce of Surat and other ports. He also came in contact thereby with the Portuguese.

Annexation of Bengal

There was no love lost between the Afghans settled in Hindustan and Akbar. The Afghan nobles found a safe asylum in Bengal. Bengal was then ruled by one Daud Khan, the last of the Kirani rulers of ths country. His position became so precarious on account of the trouble created by the Afghan nobles, that he appealed to Akbar for aid against them. In 1574 A.D., Akbar put down the rebellions of these and restored order in the country. But later on when Daud Khan himself showed signs of independence, Akbar defeated him in two battles and in 1578 annexed Bengal to the empire.

Rana Pratab Singh

While the Bengal war was in progress Akbar felt the necessity to interfere in the affairs of Rajputana once again. Rana Pratab Singh, the son of the cowardly Udai Singh, chose to remain outside the empire. The system of intermarriage between the Rajputs and the Mughal royal family was hateful to him. When, further, he was asked to submit to the rule of Akbar, he proudly refused to do so. Akbar, therefore, resolved to punish the Rana. He sent a very large force under the command of Raja Man Singh to take possession of the Rajput fortress of Gogunda in the southern region of the Aravallis. The brave and patriotic Rana took his stand at a pass leading to Gogunda. An engagement took place in June 1576 near the village of Khamnaur. Though wounded, the Rana refused to yield and fled

to the mountain fortresses taking with him the ladies of the royal family. The Mughals overran the whole country and took all the fortresses. Later on Pratab Singh recovered all Mewar except Chittor and Ajmer.

Invasion of Kabul

Muhammad Hakim, Abkar's half-brother, was his viceroy at Kabul. Thither went the orthodox Muslims of the court who did not like Akbar's policy of fraternising with the Hindus. A conspiracy was hatched at Kabul with a view to dethrone Akbar. Resolved on punishing his brother, Akbar advanced on Kabul with a great army. When the Imperial army reached its destination, Hakim fled to the hills. Akbar then made over this province to his sister who, however, permitted Hakim to return to Kabul.

Other Annexations

In 1586, Akbar reduced to submission the country of Kashmir, then ruled by yusuf Shah, and annexed it to the empire. In 1591, Southern Sind became part and parcel of Akbar's kingdom. Orissa was conquered in 1592. The conquest of Baluchistan in 1594, paved the way for the recovery of Kandahar also.

Akbar and the Deccan

When Akbar had thus consolidated his position in Northern India, he turned his attention to the affairs of the Deccan. In the Deccan there were, at that time, four important Muhammadan states, namely, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. Akbar sent embassies to all the Deccan Sultanates demanding their submission. Only Khandesh made a show of submission. The other kingdoms, although they had become weak owing to civil discords and inter-state warfare, refused to yield. Akbar therefore decided upon war. He first undertook the subjection of Ahmadnagar. In 1595, a big army was placed under the command of Prince Murad, who was then governor of Gujarat. Helped by Abdur Rahim, son of the murdered Bairam Khan, he invested Ahmadnagar; but that place was defended bravely by Chand Bibi, a gallant princess. The defence was so brave that Akbar had to open negotiations with Chand Bibi who agreed to cede Berar to Akbar. But this action of the queen was disputed by the people, who recommenced the war against Akbar. In 1597, the Mughals again took the field. The Ahmadnagar forces were defeated at Supa on the Godavari. The capital fell, but the dynasty of the Nizam Shahi lingered on for some time more.

Akbar's next task was the reduction of Khandesh. Crossing the Narmada, he occupied Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh. Then began the siege of Asirgarh, the most impregnable fortress in the whole of India. For six months Akbar attempted in vain to take the fort. It was by bribery and treachery that the gates of Asirgarh were finally thrown open to Akbar. Khandesh was annexed and this and Berar and parts of Ahmadnagar were constituted into separate provinces. Akbar's son, Daniyal, was appointed viceroy over them all.

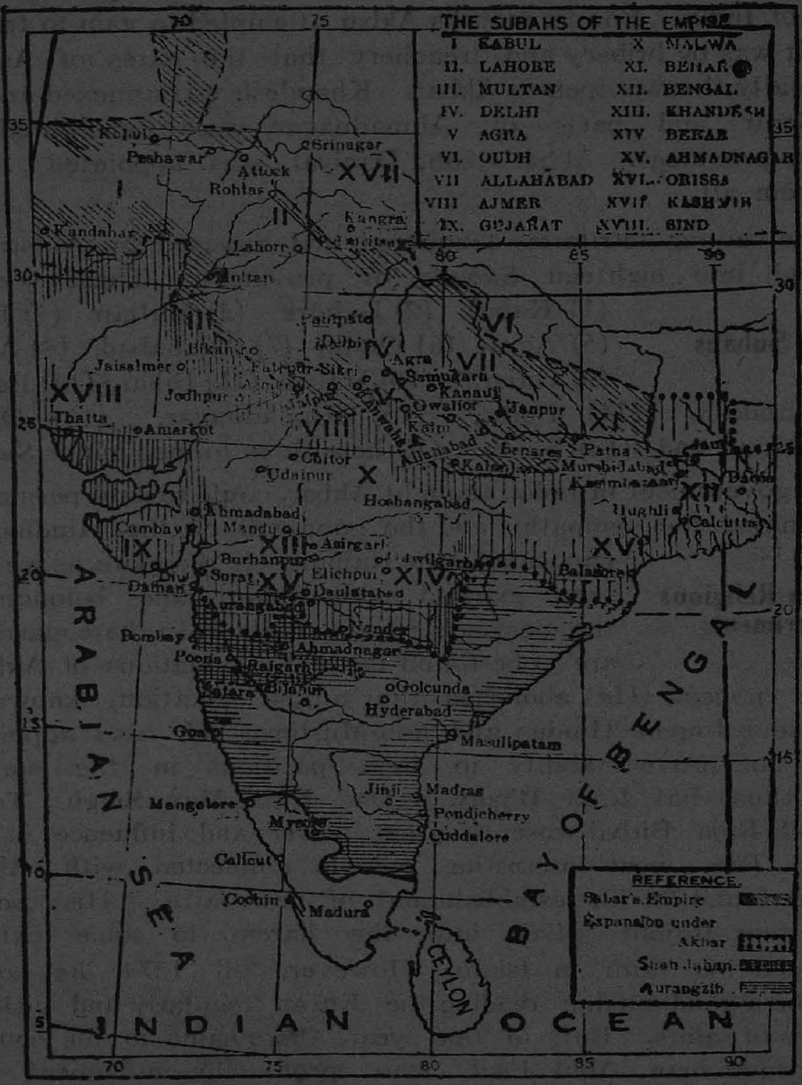
The various territories conquered and annexed by Akbar were organised into eighteen *Subahs* or provinces. These were :—

The Subahs

(1) Kabul, (2) Lahore, (3) Multan, (4) Delhi (5) Agra, (6) Oudh, (7) Allahabad, (8) Ajmer (9) Gujarat, (10) Malwa, (11) Bihar, (12) Bengal (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar, (15) Ahmadnagar, (16) Orissa, (17) Kashmir and (18) Sindh. Of these three formed minor *Subahs.*

Akbar's Religious Experiments

No government in India, thought Akbar, could remain permanent if it alienated the sympathy and the good-will of the Hindus, and particularly the Rajputs. He therefore, as we have seen, married many Rajput ladies belonging to the most noble Rajaput clans. In these marriages are to be found the real foundations of Akbar's domestic policy. He abolished the unjust taxation, known as *Jaziya*, levied upon Hindus and non-Muslims. He also appointed Rajputs of proved ability to high positions in the empire. It was thus that Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh, Todar Mall and Raja Birbal rose to great power and influence in the country. The most interesting episode connected with Akbar is to be found in his establishment of new faith. His policy of admitting Rajput wives into the harem, to some extent, undermined his faith in Islam. However, till 1574, he continued to be a good muslim reading the Koran regularly and visiting the tombs of saints. But, in that year, there came to his court a very learned man, Abul Fazl, who profoundly influenced the religious views of Akbar. Abul Fazl was a Sufi and a mystic. Influenced to a certain extent by him, Akbar began to weaken in his allegiance to the Muslim faith and to Muslim divines. Between 1574 and 1582 the Emperor spent his spare time in the *Ibadai Khana* or House of Worship at Fatehpur-Sikri discussing the merits of the various religions in the world. At one time Akbar showed marked predilection to Christianity as expounded by Father Rudolph, but the



MAP OF INDIA

Showing the Expansion of the Mughal Empire

1526—1707 A.D.

religion of Jesus did not make a permanent impression on him. He warmly received Catholic missionaries from Goa, more to obtain Portuguese guns in connection with his campaigns than to be converted by them. In 1579, Akbar issued what is known as the 'Infallibility Decree," according to which the Padsha became the *spiritual* as well as the *temporal* head of his people. From this time onwards he showed a positive hatred to Muhammadanism. He forbade even the naming of children after Muhammad, the Prophet. Among the men of religion who, in some way, contributed to the moulding of Akbar's peculiar religious thought were the venerable Parsi, Dastur Meherjee Rana, a leading Zoroastrian priest, and the eminent Jain Guru, Hiravijaya Suri. Akbar's new faith as revealed in the 'Infallibility Decree' was a failure. Its only result was that several Muslims began to study the sacred literature of the Hindus.

Akbar's Administration

The huge empire of Akbar was, as we have seen already, divided into fifteen major provinces and three minor ones. Over each province or Subah there was a provincial governor called the *Subahdar*. He was responsible for the civil and military administration of the area under his charge. Each province was sub-divided into districts governed by officers called *Faujdars* who were the deputies of the *Subahdar*. It was the duty of the *Faujdar* to reduce rebellions in the district and enforce the collection of the revenues. In big-sized towns the work of policing was entrusted to special officers known as *Kotwals*. Akbar was assisted by many officers in the actual work of government. Chief among these were (1) the *Vakil* or Prime Minister, (2) the *Wazir* or finance minister, (3) the Chief *Bakshi* who was assigned miscellaneous work and (4) the *Badr*, a sort of a chief Inquisitor whose office was abolished about the year 1582 A.D.

Military Reforms

Akbar put an end to the corruption prevailing among *Mansabdars* whose duty was to furnish troops for the state. He classified his military officers in thirty-three grades and took care to see that all soldiers and recruits, by whomsoever they had been brought in, looked up to him for commands. He discouraged the system of granting *jagirs* for military services and substituted payment in cash.

The reign of Akbar is famous for a system of scientific taxation of land inaugurated by his famous Hindu minister, Raja Todar Mal. The Raja carefully measured all the land in the country and classified

it according to different degrees of fertility and finally fixed the assessment due from each class of land. Land that had remained uncultivated for varying periods was allowed deductions in tax. It should be noted that Raja Todar Mall was not original in many of his reforms. He merely extended the reforms already introduced by Sher Shah, the great Afghan ruler. The revenue system of Akbar closely resembled the modern *ryotwari* system according to which the tenant pays his rent directly to the government without the intervention of middlemen. Taxes were allowed to be paid in kind or money, whichever suited the convenience of the tax-payer best. Akbar did away with a host of vexatious taxes. He reformed the coinage of the country. He called in all old and worn out coins and issued fresh ones. He established mints at Agra, Ahmadabad, Kabul and at the capital of Bengal from which alone gold coins were issued.

Revenue Administration

Akbar's court was a brilliant one. It contained some of the most eminent men of the period. Mention has been made already of Abul Fazl, a polished writer of verses. He was also the author of a history of the Mughals—*Akbar Namah*. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, from which we derive our knowledge of the social and economic condition of India in the sixteenth century was written by him. There were again in Akbar's court Sur Das, 'the blind bard of Agra,' and Tansen, a famous musician. Akbar's reign witnessed a brilliant development of Hindi poetry, the best exponent of which was the immortal Tulsi Das. Akbar took a deep interest in Sanskrit literature and caused to be made Persian translations of the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* the *Atharva Veda* and the *Lilavathi*.* Although Akbar himself could not read and write, he possessed a fine library of 24,000 choice books reckoned as costing about £737,169. Akbar took a keen interest in painting. He disregarded the Koranic injunction in this regard, and freely employed Persian masters to paint portraits for him. He himself was the founder of the Indo-Persian school of pictorial art. He did not forget indigenous talents. Of the seventeen distinguished artists that adorned his court, thirteen were Hindus. Like other Mughals, Akbar was a great builder. The splendid fort at Agra was his work. He also built the famous palace at Fatehpur-Sikri and a graceful tomb over his father's grave at Delhi.

Akbar's Court

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*A Treatise on Arithmetic.

The last days of the Emperor were covered by gloom. Two of his children died before him and the only surviving son, Prince Salim, proved ungrateful and even hostile. His intimate friends all pre-deceased him. The Emperor died broken-hearted in 1605 A. D. Akbar's claim to be entitled the Great rests on the fact that he, more than any other sovereign, realised that the prosperity of his subjects was the prosperity of the state. He welded the two great communities of India, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, into a united nation. In fine, Akbar "was a born king of men, with rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideals, and his magnificent achievements. *It is weakened rather than strengthened by the adulation of uncritical admirers.*"

Last Days of Akbar

SECTION C

JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN

Prince Salim, the eldest son of Akbar, ascended the throne on October 24, 1605, with the title of Jahangir. In character he was a striking contrast to his father. He had neither the iron will nor the energy of Akbar. He was, besides, fond of wine and fonder still of opium. He was a lover of ease and left the business of the state to be attended to by his wife Nur Jahan. Yet he was one of the most cultivated gentlemen of the times. He had sound common sense and at times was capable of exhibiting great valour in the battlefield. At his father's death he inherited a kingdom which extended from the eastern confines of Persia to the western frontiers of Assam and Burma and from the Himalayas down to the Godavari.

Jahangir Emperor

Jahangir began his rule well. He maintained, though he did not improve, the administrative arrangements of his father. He also carried out many minor reforms. He put an end to the greed of the *jagirdars* who levied cesses and tolls for their own private gain. He did away with many octroi duties. He built rest-houses, mosques, schools and hospitals throughout the realm. Every Tuesday he sat in open court and even the poorest man could have access to him.

Early Rule

The Emperor had a son, Prince Khushru by name. He hoped that Akbar, his grandfather, would prefer him, to the throne, but when eventually Akbar and Jahangir were reconciled, Khushru realised that he had lost his opportunity. After the accession of

Jahangir, he was kept in some sort of captivity at the Agra fort.

Rebellion of Khushru

From this he escaped in 1606 and hurried to the Punjab where he was joined by some followers. He then invaded Lahore and finally met the imperial forces at Bhairowal. The ill-disciplined hordes of Prince Khushru were routed easily and he himself was captured. Terrible punishment now awaited Khushru's followers. Three hundred of them were impaled on gibbets, a long line of which was erected on both sides of the road leading to Lahore. As for the royal rebel, he was kept in prison till 1616. It is believed that his brother, Prince Khurram, later Shah Jahan, strangled him one day in March 1622 A.D. Thus died a prince who was very popular and cultured but fiery-tempered.

No incident in Jahangir's reign has attracted so much attention as his marriage with Nur Jahan, who for full fifteen years, swayed both the Emperor and the Empire. The story

Nur Jahan

of Nur Jahon's marriage with Jahangir is romantic. Nur Jahan's grandfather was the *Vizier* of the Governor of Khorasan, a province of Persia. After his death in 1577, his son Ghiyas Beg migrated to Hindustan taking with him his wife, two sons, and daughter. In the course of his wanderings, thieves took possession of all his property except his two mules. At Khandahar his wife gave birth to Nur Jahan (1577) whom they named Mehir-unnisa. A rich merchant, Malik Masud, took pity on Ghiyas Beg and introduced him to Akbar. Ghiyas rose steadily afterwards from position to position. Nur Jahan who had now grown into a charming damsel, was given in marriage to Sher Afkun, a Persian adventurer, who was attached to Prince Salim. When Jahangir came to the throne he gave Sher Afkun a jagir in Bengal but he displeased the Emperor very soon and lost his life in an encounter with one of the imperial officers. Mehirunnisa, as Nur Jahan was called, was then brought to court and appointed as a lady-in-waiting to the Dowager Empress, Sultana Salima Begum. In March 1611, Jahangir saw her, fell in love with her and married her two months later.

From the time of her marriage with the Emperor, Nur jahan governed the empire in all matters. She signed *farmans* jointly with the Emperor und her portrait appeared even on coins. Her relations by her first husband were all given high positions in the state. Her own daughter by her first husband was given in marriage to the Emperor's youngest son,

Shahryar. For some time she was attached warmly to Prince Khurram, but later on, she parted company with him.

Ascendancy of Nur Jahan

This ascendancy of Nur Jahan roused the bitter resentment of the court nobility among whom the outspoken Mahabat Khan was one. He protested against the Emperor's ways and implored him to shake off the shackles, but in vain.

We have seen what heroic efforts were made by Akbar to subdue Ahmadnagar. Although subdued, that kingdom could not be annexed by him. Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian adventurer, now restored the fallen fortunes of the Ahmadnager house. He raised to the throne a scion of the reigning family under the title of Murtuza Nizam Shah. He was also resolved to restore the Independence of Ahmadnagar. Helped by Maratha horsemen, he defeated army after army sent by Jahangir and recovered almost all the lost possessions. In 1660, Prince Khurram was despatched against Malik Ambar and he overcame him successfully. It was on account of this success that Prince Khurram received the title of Shah Jahan. In another direction Shah Jahan was equally lucky. In the previous section, mention was made of the heroic struggle which Rana Pratap Singh kept up all his life against the Maghals. He was succeeded by his son, Amar Singh, the tallest and strongest of all the princes of Mewar. Many expeditions were sent by Jahangir against Amar Singh. Everyone of these was a miserable failure. At last in 1613, Prince Khurram took up the command of the expedition against Mewar. He was able to starve out the Rajputs in their mountain retreats, and the war-wearied Rajput nobles finally begged Amar Singh to sue for peace which he did. Another notable achievement of Jahangir was the capture, in November 1620 A.D., of the Kangra fortress in the Punjab which had defied even Akbar.

Deccan Affairs

Jahangir had four sons. The unfortunate Khushru was the eldest; Prince Parwiz was the second; and Prince Khurram, surnamed Shah Jahan, was the third and ablest of all. He had married Mumtaz Mahal, the daughter of Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan's brother. Shahryar was the fourth and last son of the Emperor and he had married the daughter of Nur Jahan by her first husband. Now the Empress was scheming to secure the throne to her son-in-law Shahryar. On the other hand, her brother Asaf Khan was manoeuvring secretly on behalf of his son-is-law Shah Jahan,

Imperial Family Feuds

Shah Jahan had full knowledge of the designs of Nur Jahan, and so when he was ordered to proceed to Khandahar he refused to do so fearing that it would take him far away from Delhi. Not only did he refuse to go to Khandahar but he also raised the standard of rebellion against his father. With the help of a few followers he advanced towards Delhi but was defeated at Balochpur to the south of it, Mahabat Khan, the Emperor's trusted friend and general, then pursued Shah Jahan and drove him through Malwa into the Deccan and then again across Telingana into Bengal. But Nur Jahan fearing the growing influence of Mahabat Khan offered pardon and peace to Shah Jahan who was allowed to remain in the Deccan.

The Rebellion of Shah Jahan (1623-25)

The main cause for the abrupt ending of the civil war was Nur Jahan's hatred of Mahabut Khan who desired the throne for Prince Parwiz, the second son of the Emperor. She was shrewd enough to perceive that this nobleman would spoil her own designs. She therefore recalled Muhabat Khan to court. But the latter clearly saw in this order a well-hatched plan to ruin him. He obeyed Nur Jahan but came with 5,000 Rajput soldiers devoted to him. The Emperor was then encamped on the bank of the Jhelum on his way to Kabul and suddenly Mahabat Khan surrounded the Emperor's camp and imprisoned him. With the greatest difficulty Nur Jahan effected her escape and later on she also managed to free the Emperor. Disappointed in his plans, Mahabat Khan fled to the camp of Shah Jahan, who, it was suspected, had already brought about the death of Parwiz by poisoning him.

Mahabat Khan's Coupe de Main

A few months after his release from the grip of Mahabat Khan, the Emperor Jahangir died on October 28, 1627, at a place near Bhimbhar just beyond the frontier of the modern Gujarat district in the Punjab. He was buried in a magnificent mausoleum erected by Nur Jahan. "Jahangir's reign on the whole," writes a well-informed scholar, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed; architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high water-mark; a host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan age of mediaeval Indian literature."

Death of Jahangir

In the time of Jahangir, two Englishmen, Captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, visited the Emperor bearing letters from James I of England. The former landed at Surat in August 1608 and encountered much opposition from the Portuguese who were jealous of British entrance in Indian waters. Hawkins however managed to reach the imperial court and all his requests were granted. But owing to the intrigues of the Portuguese, who at that time policed the Indian coast and protected the pilgrim vessals going to Mecca, many of the trade concessions granted were withdrawn. Seven years later Sir Thomas Roe reached the Mughal court as the accredited ambassador of James I of England. He was accompanied by an English clergyman Edward Terry by name. Roe succeeded in getting numerous trade privileges for his nation. We are indebted to these two gentlemen for the valuable records left by them about life in the Mughal court.

Hawkins and Roe

THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN (1628—1656)

Shah Jahan ascended the throne in February 1628 after a short sharp struggle with Dawar Baksh, nicknamed Bulaki, who was placed on the throne immediately after Jahangir's death as a stop-gap by Asaf Khan. His first task was to suppress a rebellion by one Khan Jahan Lodi. He was an Afghan of considerable influence and consequently bitterly hostile to the Mughal ascendancy in India. Allying himself with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, he defied the Mughal Emperor for more than three years. At last he was defeated and killed.

Accession of Shah Jahan

The next event in the reign of Shah Jahan was the death of his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal, the daughter of Asaf Khan. She died of child-birth in January 1631. She was exceedingly devoted to her husband and bore him fourteen children. Her death affected the Emperor deeply. She was at first buried at Burhanpur and later on the body was removed to Agra. Over the remains of his queen, the bereaved husband built an exquisite mausoleum, the Taj, one of the noblest and costliest buildings in the world. The Taj has been praised and described a thousand times. According to one description, it is "dream in marble designed by Titians and finished by jewellers."

Mumtaz Mahal

The conquest of the Deccan was a favourite scheme with the Mughal Emperors. Akbar attempted his best to annex the whole of the Deccan but could accomplish nothing more than the annexation

of a few tracts belonging to Ahmadnagar. In the time of his successor Jahangir, Malik Ambar recovered most of the possessions of the Nizam Shahis. Shah Jahan was resolved to annex the whole of the Deccan. Fortunately for him, the leader in Ahmadnagar was Fateh Khan, son of Malik Ambar, who was open to corruption and bribery. He was bribed by the imperial officials and with his help Ahmadnagar was annexed to the empire in 1632. Shah Jahan next marched against Golconda which readily submitted. But not so Bijapur, whose Sultan was the powerful Muhammad Adil Shah. The Emperor had to wage a ruthless war against Adil Shah and ultimately the Sultan promised obedience to the Mughal sovereign (1636). Thus the whole of the Deccan was subdued by Shah Jahan. The subdued tracts were divided into four provinces—Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad. Shah Jahan appointed Aurangzib, his third son, as viceroy over them all.

Deccan Affairs

It was the ambition of Shah Jahan to recover the hilly provinces of Badakshan and Balkh and thereby acquire Samarkand itself. He therefore despatched under Prince Murad and Ali Mardan Khan, a Persian general, a huge force which conquered these two provinces. In 1647, Aurangzib was transferred from the Deccan to these frontier areas as viceroy.

Other Military Projects of Shah Jahan

Aurangzib was also employed against Khandahar, which occupied a strategic position of considerable importance. Babar, the founder of the Mughal empire, understood the value of Khandahar and retained it. Humayun also took it, but the Persian, in 1558, became masters of the city. In the time of Akbar it remained in the hands of the Mughals. The unfortunate Jahangir lost the Khandahar fort as we have seen. When Shah Jahan became Emperor, Khandahar was in charge of Ali Mardan Khan, a discontented Persian general. In 1638, he rebelled against his master and handed over the fort to one of the officers of Shah Jahan. In 1648 A. D., the Persians made a vigorous attempt to reconquer Khandahar. It was to check this enterprise that Aurangzib was despatched. Of the three expeditions sent against it, two were led by Aurangzib, and one by Prince Dara. Every one of these was a costly failure. After the Kandahar enterprise, Aurangzib was appointed viceroy of the Deccan a second time.

Khandahar and its History

Aurangzib as Viceroy

Aurangzib as viceroy carried out many revenue reforms in the Deccan. His fiscal officer, Murshid Kuli Khan, carefully followed the lines of revenue settlement introduced by Todar Mall in Hindustan. He also took vigorous action against the semi independent principalities of Bijapur and Golconda and put them down.

The Fratricidal War

In September 1657, Shah Jahan took ill suddenly and that was a signal for a fratricidal war among the four sons of the Emperor. Dara was the eldest and favourite son of Shah Jahan. He was viceroy of the Punjab and the north-western provinces. He was able and clever, but violent in temper, arrogant in manners and, worst of all, self-willed. In religion he was not a strict Muslim. He was a mystic who loved the Upanishads (which he declared to be a revelation earlier than the Koran). The second son of Shah Jahan was Shuja, viceroy of Bengal. He was sluggish and inert and utterly incapable of quick action. He was a Shiah by religion. The third son was Aurangzib, calm and cool-headed, crafty and cunning. He easily towered above all his brothers in point of ability. The last and fourth son of Shah Jahan was Murad, a drunken, dissolute and brainless man. Dara was living with Shah Jahan at the time of his illness. Aurangzib now entered into a treaty with the thoughtless Murad promising to divide the empire with him. He also let him know that his real object was to prevent the infidel Dara ascending the throne. The unsuspecting Murad believed in him and united his forces with his. The allied brothers easily won a double victory over Dara in April and May, 1658. Aurangzib followed the victory by an attack on the Agra fort. His artillery proved ineffective, but the cunning Aurangzib had recourse to a more effective weapon that opened the gates of Agra. He cut off the water-supply to the fort and its garrison. Even the Emperor Shah Jahan could not get water to drink. Realising the danger, he opened the gates to Aurangzib who at once made Shah Jahan prisoner and confined him in the harem with a strict guard watching him.

Murad Duped and Imprisoned

Prince Murad soon found that Aurangzib had no intention of fulfilling the solemn treaty he had entered into with him. He grew more and more suspicious of Aurangzib and increased the strength of his army. But the wily *Alamgir** was not to be outwitted. One day he invited Murad to dinner and plied him

* Alamgir, the name of the sword belonging to Shah Jahan which he handed over to Aurangzib, who himself subsequently was called by that name.

with more wine than he could stand, and, while Murad was dozing, imprisoned him. There then remained only Dara and Shuja to be dealt with. Shuja was worsted at Khajava in January 1659 and pursued till he reached the Arakan frontier where he was put to death by the Arakanese. Aurangzib hunted Dara from place to place, from Delhi to Lahore and thence to Multan. From Multan, Dara went to Thatta and thence to Cutch. Later on he once again succumbed to the suggestions of traitors, who betrayed him. One such traitor, the chief of Dadar, near the Bolan Pass, handed him over to the imperial agents. The unhappy prince was brought to Delhi and was executed a few days later. Thus with the shedding of the blood of brothers did Aurangzib encompass the throne.

Death of Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan survived his favourite son for nearly seven years. Throughout this period he languished in prison, though attended by his daughter. He died on January 22nd, 1662. Aurangzib did not care to see his dying father nor did he make any decent arrangement for his funeral.

Estimate of his Reign

Shah Jahan's rule had been beneficent.* He was kind to his family and to his subjects. Throughout his reign there was peace in the land. He put down oppression and corruption among the imperial officials. He maintained a splendid court. His reign witnessed the erection of stately buildings, one of which the Taj Mahal, has been mentioned already. Shah Jahan was fond of display and spent large sums of money on not very useful objects to the public at large like the famous peacock throne which cost him ten million rupees.

SECTION D,

THE REIGN OF AURANGZIB (1658—1707 A. D.)

Aurangzib Emperor

Aurangzib occupied Delhi in May 1659 and was crowned Emperor a second time. When he ascended the throne, he abolished many local cesses by way of concession to the people. He took for his title *Alamgir*, the name of the sword presented to him by his father. He was a stern puritan, and in his state activities he followed strictly

* For much of the information about the events of this period, we are indebted to two French jewellers, Bernier and Tavernier, who visited India in the seventeenth century. The former was also a doctor and was engaged by the great Mughal for some time.

the law of the Koran. He was therefore hated by the Hindus, the Afghans and the Persians.

Early Events

The first notable event during his reign was his war with Assam (1661—63). In the hilly region lying north and east of Upper Burma, there lived a race of people called the Ahoms. They were raiding frequently the Mughal territory. Aurangzib wanted to punish them and sent his faithful and brave general Mir Jumla against them. The expedition was successful, but Mir Jumla died of fever in the course of the campaign.

Aurangzib's Policy towards the Hindus

Aurangzib hated the Rajputs and wanted to humble them thoroughly. He therefore waged many wars against them. This was part of the general policy which he adopted towards the Hindus. He attacked them and their religion in many ways. He forbade the building of new Hindu temples. In 1664, he desecrated a Hindu temple in Gujarat by killing a cow in it and then converted it into a mosque. He issued orders to his officials to pull down all temples and prevent the construction of new ones. Similarly he ordered the demolition of all schools belonging to the infidels. *Jaziya*, which the kind Akbar had abolished, was now revived. The Hindus on whom this tax weighed heavily protested in vain. The burden of this taxation was so heavy that it scared away traders who fled to the Deccan. Rebellions also broke out in different parts of the country. The Jat peasants of the Mathura district were the first to rebel. The religious bigotry of the Emperor was also responsible for the rebellion of the Satnamis* in 1672. Aunangzib suppressed the rebellion after a most bloody encounter (1679).

Aurangzib and the Rajputs

We shall now proceed to give an account of Aurangzib's wars with the Rajputs of Marwar (Jodhpur) and Mewar (Udaipur). The kingdom of Marwar lies westwards beyond the Aravalli hills. Its ruler at the time was Jaswant Singh, a loyal vassal of the Emperor. He was sent by Aurangzib against Sivaji and his Maratha horsemen. Later on, he was transferred to a small command near the Khyber Pass, a poor reward for the Rajput vassal who had rendered loyal services. Jaswant died in December 1678.

*The Satnamis, who were a Hindu sect so called from their devotion to the name of the true God, looted and plundered everywhere and gained large adherence.

He left no heir to succeed him. The Emperor, when he heard the news of his death, ordered the seizure of Marwar. It was his idea to convert Marwar, into a Muslim state so that he could easily attack Mewar, whose rulers were proud. Moreover Aurangzib hoped that with the subjugation of Marwar all opposition to his anti-Hindu policy would disappear. It so happened that each of the two queens of Jaswant gave birth to a boy and in vain did they beg the Emperor to recognise one of them as the successor of Jaswant. Aurangzib's only reply was to order that the infants with their mothers should be thrown into the prison fortress of Nurgarh. But from this fate they were rescued by the bravery of a Rajput, Durgadas, one of the most loyal sons of Marwar, the very soul of Rajput honour and flower of Rahtor chivalry. He fought a pitched battle with the guards surrounding the prison, snatched away the infants and the Ranis from their custody and reached Marwar safely. In great anger, Aurangzib himself went to Rajputana, and defeated Durgadas and his adherents near Lake Pushkar. He then annexed Marwar to his dominions. Jodhpur fell and it was pillaged. The emblems of Rajput religion were trampled under foot. The temples were all pulled down and mosques were erected on their sites.

Conquest of Mewar

The conquest of Marwar was followed by that of Mewar. Prince Akbar was despatched against Udaipur, the capital of the Mewar state. The Mughal soldiery were let loose on the defenceless people whose Raja had eventually to make peace with the Emperor (June 1681). The Rana of Udaipur had to cede certain territories to Aurangzib who promised not to levy *Jaziya* in the Mewar state.

Results of the Struggle

We may note briefly the political results of the struggle with the Rajputs. Although Aurangzib was successful in the end, the imperial prestige sustained serious damage in the course of the struggle. Secondly, his resources were wasted in the two small regions of Marwar and Mewar. Next, the Emperor lost the chances of obtaining some of the finest and most loyal recruits for his army. As a result of the example of the brave stand of the two Rajput states, lawlessness spread to Malwa and other areas and imperilled the Emperor's march to the Deccan.

In the time of Aurangzib the Marathas became very powerful. Their home-land was Maharashtra, the boundaries of which varied from time to time. In the seventeenth century the centre of Maratha

power and resistance lay in the Konkan, the narrow strip of territory between the Western Ghats and the sea. The whole country is very hilly and rugged and the Ghats particularly send long spurs into the Deccan eastwards. These enclose delightful little valleys from which little streams take their source and roll away to join the mighty Godavari or the Krishna. The river banks of the Konkan are celebrated for their breed of horses which are accounted the best and hardest in the Deccan. The entire region of the Ghats and their branches is studded with forts and fortifications from which points of vantage the Marathas always harassed their enemies. The true home of the Marathas, however, has been always the Konkan and the hilly and rugged regions bordering the Western Ghats. Here they developed those qualities and acquired those vices common to all highlanders. The predominant racial qualities of these people were activity, courage, self-reliance, self-respect and love of equality. But they were lacking in business capacity, in the power to co-operate with others, in fact for managing colleagues and above all in the saving common sense of the Anglo-Saxon race. Isolated by nature from the main currents of Indian political life they developed greater cunning without losing, their courage and valour. In their methods of fighting, they resembled the Afghans to a great degree. Their land not being fertile, they were forced often to seek employment in the armies of the Deccan Sultanates. A sense of equality prevailed in the Maharashtra. This levelling tendency was furthered by the growth of religious movements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A long line of saints and prophets laid stress on "the sanctity of conduct rather than mere birth." The names of Tukaram (b. 1568), of Ramdas (b. 1608), of Vaman Pandit (b. 1666) and of Ekanath, still retain their hold over the Marathas.

The Rise of the Marathas

It was under Sivaji that the Maratha became an aggressive power. He was the son of Shahji Bhonsle. The latter had entered the service of Malik Ambar and served him loyally down to the Abyssinian's death in 1626. The honesty and the gallantry of Shahji attracted the attention of Emperor Shah Jahan who conferred upon him the fief of Poona and Supa. Later on, Shah Jahan changed his mind and took away from Shahji most of the lands he had given him previously. Quite disgusted the Maratha resigned his service and transferred himself to Bijapur which was then at war with the Mughals. As a soldier he made himself indispensable to the Bijapur

Shahji Bhonsle

Sultan. His sole aim was to make the position of the Mughals as difficult as possible in the Deccan. He also interferred in the politics of Ahmadnagar and even set up a ruler there in opposition to the Mughals.

Career of Sivaji

Sivaji was born in 1627.* His mother was Jijabai. His father had however married a second wife and did not care very much for Jijabai and Sivaji. Indeed father and son had not seen each other for a number of years. As a lad, Sivaji showed a high degree of independence. He once quarrelled with a few Mussalmans who dragged the cattle to the shambles. He also refused to bow to the Bijapur Sultan in the manner of the courtiers. Fearing that the boy might spoil his prospects of advancement, Shahji sent away Sivaji and his mother to Poona. With them went a tutor and guardian of young Sivaji, Dadaji Kandadev, who was the young lad's sole guide, friend and philosopher. The Brahman gave Sivaji an excellent training in the warlike practices of the times, and allowed him to wander about the woods and mountain passes for days together so that Sivaji was familiar with every winding pass or craggy route of the country.

Sivaji hated the Mughals. He did not want service under them. Nor was he enamoured of service under the Deccan Sultanates. He wanted to carve out an independent principality for himself. Indeed he desired to be his own master. Therefore, when his guardian died in 1647, Sivaji began his career of conquest and annexation. In 1646 be attacked Torna, a Bijapur fortress, and took it. He found immense treasure there. He annexed the *jagir* of Supa and took the forts of Chakan, Kondana and Purandar to mention only a few of them. He entered the Konkan country and took Kalyan. These activities of Sivaji angered the Bijapur Sultan who imprisoned Shahji, Sivaji's father. This had the desired effect. Anxious for his father's safety, Sivaji stopped his career of aggressive warfare for a time. He remained inactive during the period 1649—55. In 1655 he obtained by violence and treachery the state of Javli which facilitated his march to the south and south-west.

Conflict with the Mughals

In 1657 the Mughal Emperor began a war with Bijapur, and Sivaji taking advantage of the situation, took to plundering the Mughal territory and in a short time became master of the whole of the Konkan, with the exception of Bombay, Goa and Jinjira.

* According to one calculation, he was born in 1630.

The loss of the Konkan forts infuriated the Bijapur Sultan and he sent one Afzal Khan with a large force to punish Sivaji. This general boasted that he would bring the Maratha alive or dead. Siviji understood that he could not face the huge army and therefore promised submission to Afzal Khan. He also solicited an interview with the general that he might confess his guilt and prove his loyalty to the Sultan. The deluded Afghan consented to this and came unarmed and attended but by two servants. Sivaji came alone similarly followed by two of his attendants. In accordance with the custom of the age, Afzal Khan embraced Sivaji. While in this act, the muslim received in his abdomen an agonizing thrust. It was the "tiger's claws" which Sivaji had carried with him and kept carefully concealed. Afzal and his attendants were killed easily in the ensuing melee. The Bijapur forces stationed at a distance were scattered in different directions by the Maratha horsemen who at a given signal, appeared from every neighbouring crag and bush and fell on them remorselessly. Sivaji then entered the south Konkan country and took the fort of Panhala. The Bijapur Sultan, finding it hopeless to punish Sivaji made peace with him. Sivaji was recognised master of all that he had taken.

Afzal Khan and the Tiger's Claws

Emboldened by his success against Bijapur, Sivaji began to attack the Mughal territories as well. To oppose him Aurangzib sent Shayista Khan with definite instructions that he should take from the Marathas all the lands which they had taken from Bijapur. The Mughal general, instead of attacking Sivaji at once, retired to Poona where he occupied the very house where Sivaji was born. Sivaji was determined to punish and humble him. In April 1663, he and two hundred picked men disguised themselves as Mughal soldiers and entered the town. On the pretence of celeb. rating a marriage, they obtained permission to march in procession through the city. The Maratha hero and his men were not suspected at all in the procession. When the noisy procession reached the house of the Khan, Sivaji's soldiers surrounded the house and a few of them scaled the walls and entered the apartment where the general was living. In the course of the struggle that ensued Shayista Khan lost a few fingers and it was with great difficulty that he managed to escape. After this failure, Shayista Khan implored his royal master to recall him. He was subsequently appointed viceroy of Bengal, far away from the Marathas.

Sivaji and Shayista Khan

Frankly puzzled at the activities of Sivaji, Aurangzib despatched his own son, Prince Muazzam and Raja Jai Singh against him. This time Sivaji thought it prudent to submit to the Emperor. He also signed a draft treaty—the Treaty of Purandar—according to which Sivaji was to surrender a number of forts, which he had captured and undertake to help the Mughals against Bijapur; in return he was to be permitted to collect *Chauth* aud *Sardeshmukhi*, being one-fourth and one-tenth of the revenue respectively, in certain districts above the Ghats. Aurangzib confirmed the substance of the treaty.

Mughal Treaty with Sivaji

True to the terms of the treaty, Sivaji joined the Mughal forces and reduced a few Bijapur strongholds. While investing Panhala, he was invited by Aurangzib to go to his court. He accepted the invitation and proceeded to Agra where the Emperor was holding the *Durbar*. Aurangzib seems to have slighted him and insulted him by assigning to him a place usually given to a Mansabdar of 5000. Sivaji protested. The Emperor answered his protests by throwing him and his son Sambhaji into a jail near the Taj Mahal.

Sivaji invited to Court and imprisoned

Aurangzib had, however, provided the prison palace of Sivaji with every comfort that the Maratha hero might require. Friends could come and go; basketsful of sweets and fruits were permitted from outside. The astute Sivaji planned an escape from the prison. One day Sivaji and his son got each into a sweet meat basket and were rushed outside. Next morning however, the news spread that Sivaji had escaped. Sivaji and Sambhaji reached Poona after encountering many difficulties on the way.

His Escape

After his escape from the Mughal custody, Sivaji continued to harass the Mughal forces sent against him. Prince Muazzam and Raja Jaswant Singh were despatched against the Maratha hero. Sivaji bribed them and induced them to obtain from the Mughal Emperor the recognition of his title as Raja. In 1674, Sivaji crowned himself king at the fort of Raigarh with great pomp and ceremony. The English ambassador, Henry, Oxenden, was present at the ceremony and he was invested with a robe of honour. From 1674 to 1680, Sivaji was busy expanding his kingdom in the south. He annexed the whole of Western Karnataka upto the

Further Activities of Sivaji

modern Bellary district. He then went to Tanjore and successfully claimed his share of his father's *jagir* from his brother Venkaji. Next he took Jinji and Vellore. He died on the 24th March 1680, after a seven days' illness.

Before we resume the story of the career of Aurangzib, let us briefly study about the military and civil administration of the Marathas. "Like the first Napoleon," says Ranade, "Sivaji in his time was a great organiser and builder of civil institution." He introduced in his dominions the revenue policy of Malik Ambar who himself imitated the example of Raja Todar Mall. But Sivaji was not a mere imitator. He knew the weakness in the system of Malik Ambar which was lack of method. He therefore introduced a uniform standard of measure—the *kathi* or measuring rod, five cubits and five fists in length. With this unit of measurement he ordered a systematic survey settlement.

Organisation of the Country under the Marathas

Sivaji's military administration was very efficient. The forts of his kingdom formed the very soul of it. He therefore took great care to man them properly. Each fort was under the charge of three officers—a *Havaldar*, a *Sabnis* and a *Sarncbat*. The *Sabnis* was a Brahman and he maintained accounts. The *Havaldar* kept the keys of the fort with him. Each fort was well-stocked with provisions, stores and arms so that it might stand a long siege. Sivaji's infantry was also divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. Lowest in rank was the *Naik* in charge of nine soldiers; above him came the *Havaldar* and over him the *Jumledar*. He who commanded ten *Jumledars* was known as *Hazari* and there was a *Sarbonat* exercising authority over seven *Hazaris*.

Military Organisation

The huge army of Sivaji was maintained by plunder. In the course of operations the soldiers were kept under rigorous discipline. Everyone of Sivaji's soldiers was expected to honour women, to protect the cow and the Brahman. In one word, no soldier was to misconduct himself.

For purposes of general administration, Sivaji maintained a council of eight members known as *Ashta-Pradhan*. The ministers were (1) the *Peishwa*, or Prime Minister who looked after the general administration, (2) the *Auditor*, who checked public accounts, (3) the *Chronicelr*, historian of the court, (4) the *Superintendent*, who looked

Civil Administration

after the drafting of royal letters, (5) the *Foreign Secretary*, who advised on matters of peace or war, (6) the *Commander-in-Chief*, (7) the *Pandit Rao*, or the ecclesiatical head, who was judge of Canon Law, Royal Almoner and Censor of Public Morals, and (8) the *Chief Justice*. All the ministers except the Commander-in-Chief were Brahmans and all of them were liable to render military service in times of emergency.

Sivaji's Character and Attainments

Sivaji had strong religious convictions. He did not, like Aurangzib, persecute other faiths. He patronised Brahman and Muslim saints alike. In his daily conduct he was profoundly influenced by his spiritual guide, Saint Ramdas. He was a born leader of men. He found the Maratha race 'scattered like atoms' and he united them and formed them into a nation. This he achieved in the face of strenuous opposition from mighty powers like the Mughals, the Portuguese and the Bijapur Sultan. He protected the cow, the Brahman and the *Vedas*. The basis of the state was the moral teachings of the Pandharpur saints. The oppressed Hindus of the period found in Sivaji their only hope. In the words of the historian Sarkar,

> "He (Sivaji) has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence; they can protect and promote literature and art; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."

Aurangzib after Sivaji

Aurangzib received the news of Sivaji's death with a sigh of relief. He was encouraged to proceed south and fulfil the mission of his life, namely, the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda. In 1685, the attack on Golconda began. But Prince Muazzam, who was in charge of the operations, thought it better to conclude peace. In 1686 he was able to annex Bijapur. Thus ended the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. Then began the siege of Golconda. It lasted for more than eight months. It was ably defended both by the Sultan and his famous lieutenant, Abdur Razzaq Khan Lari. Nevertheless, it fell in October 1687. With the fall of Bijapur and Golconda, the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent reaching as far as Tanjore in the south. The annexation of these two states and the extinction of the Sultanates formed a political blunder. In subordinate alliance with the Mughal empire, they would have stood as a bulwark against the growing Maratha aggression,

The remaining years of Aurangzib's life were spent in a fruitless effort to subdue the Marathas. In 1687, the Mughals captured Sambhaji, son of Sivaji, and the Emperor put him to death in a most barbarous manner. During the years 1690—98, the imperial resources were wasted before the strong fort of Jinji held by the Marathas. The latter, nothing daunted, carried on a vigorous defensive war against the Mughals. They took fort after fort. In despair Aurangzib retreated to Ahmadnagar where he died (February 1707 A.D.)

Last Days of Aurangzib

It was during the time of Aurangzib that the Sikhs became the most implacable foes of the Mughal empire and Muslim religion. Let us therefore study briefly the history of the Sikh church. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, there appeared in the north west of India a great religious reformer. His name was Nanak (b. 1468). He was a *khatri* or trader by caste. He grew tired of priestly pretensions and spent his time in the quest of religious truth. He denounced both Hinduism and Muhammadanism alike. Like Kabir he said that God could be realised by humility, prayer and self-restraint. What then is Sikhism? It is belief in one God. It opposes idolatry and prohibits pilgrimages to shrines. It does not recognise impurity either at birth or death to be expiated by ceremony. It refuses to recognise the caste system and Brahmanical supremacy. Nanak's sole formula was the unity of God and the brotherhood of man.

Aurangzib and the Sikhs

Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was succeeded by several able Gurus. The third guru after him made the headship of the Sikh church hereditary. The fifth guru Arjun (1581—1606) organised the church and collected *tithes* from the followers of the faith. Arjun incurred the wrath of Jahangir and was consequently beheaded by him. After Arjun, his son Hari Govind succeeded to the pontificate. He came in conflict with the Emperor Shah Jahan. He died in 1645 A.D. and was succeeded by his son. Hari Rai (1645—61), who showed considerable independence in his dealings with Aurangzib, He helped Dara in the course of his fight. The ninth Sikh guru was Tegh Bahadur. Before his selection as guru, he had been a loyal soldier of the Emperor Aurangzib, but the Emperor's bigotry and fanaticism made the Sikh saint indignant. He called upon the Hindus of Kashmir to refuse to submit to the system

History of the Sikh Church

of forcible conversion by the Emperor. This was too much for the autocrat. Aurangzib ordered his seizure. The Emperor promised to spare his life if he became a Muṣlim. He rejected this offer and was tortured to death (1675 A. D.).

Character of Aurangzib

Aurangzib possessed many virtues. His devotion to the Muslim faith and the vigour with which he enforced the Koranic Law on all will excite nothing but the admiration of every Muslim. His life was simple and his austerity commendable. His enormous industry and tenacity of purpose were worth imitation by all kings. But as a sovereign of India, he failed miserably in his purpose. He did not understand, and even if he did, he would not practise, the benign principle of Hindu-Mussalman unity inaugurated by Akbar the Great. He lived for his religion and achieved much for it but not for the empire. The many blunders he committed were more or less responsible for the disintegration of the empire. The levying of the *Jaziya* was a political blunder of the first magnitude. This roused the bitter opposition of the Hindus, who from that time, could not conscientiously reconcile themselves to the Mughal rule. His programme of temple destruction made the discontent deeper and created resentment in the Hindu mind that has not vanished even to-day. His wanton attack on the brave Rajput clans of Marwar and Mewar brought about the deterioration of the Mughal army as recruits could be obtained no longer on a large scale from those hardy warrior tribes. He angered the Sikhs by murdering their guru aud this was the direct cause of converting a religious community into a fighting order. His Afghan policy was of no great utility; the tribal peace had to be purchased at a heavy cost, which drained the Mughal treasury. He failed to realise the growing importance of the Marathas and, instead of conciliating their movement, he allowed it to grow and merely temporised matters with them. His conquest and annexation of Bijapur and Golconda facilitated the plundering campaigns of the Marathas which, in the end, proved disastrous to the Mughal arms as well as to their prestige. His Deccan compaign was conceived in a spirit of imbecility. It proved to be the grave of his reputation. Finally, it cost him his life. His long absence in the Deccan led to grave disorders in the north where a peasantry groaning under the weight of heavy taxation was ready to rebel. Thus the elements of disruption began to appear even during his life-time.

CHAPTER X

THE LATER MUGHALS

The death of Aurangzib was followed by a civil war of succession among his three surviving sons, Prince Muazzam known as Shah Alam, Prince Azam and Prince Kam Baksh. In the contest, the eldest son, Shah Alam, came out successful and he succeeded to the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah (1708). Mild in disposition, dignified and learned, the new Emperor maintained the stability of the empire during his time. He saw the wisdom of maintaining peace with the Marathas in the Deccan and the Rajputs. With the former he entered into a treaty acknowledging Prince Sahu, son of Sambhaji, as their king and conferred on him the *Sardeshmukhi* and the *Chauth* of the six subhas of Deccan. He pacified the powerful Rajput houses of Jaipur and Jodhpur by large concessions. He suppressed also a revolt headed by the Sikh Banda, a religious ascetic of war like temper. Bahadur Shah died in 1712 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Jahandar Shah.

Accession of Bahadur Shah (1708-12)

Jahandar obtained the throne with the help of one Zulfikar Khan who became the Wazir. Both the sovereign and the minister were worthless profligates and they soon disgusted the nobility by their vile conduct. Farrukh Siyar, the son of the Emperor's brother, now raised the standard of revolt and, helped by the two famous Sayyad brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdulla, he strangled Jahandar in the Delhi Fort and ascended the throne. The rule to Jahandar Shah lasted only for eleven months.

Jahandar Shah (1712-13)

Farrukh Siyar soon found himself a puppet in the hands of the Sayyad brothers who were Shias and therefore were hated by the Court party. Sayyad Abdullah became the Wazir while Hussain Ali received the rank of *Amir-ul-Umara* and Chief *Bakshi*. Together the brothers controlled the entire machinery of Government and showed a marked tolerance for the Hindus. Hussain Ali also effected an alliance with the Marathas with a view to get their support against the Emperor and the Court party. If Farrukh Siyar had been prudent, he would have won over

Farrukh Siyar and the Sayyad Brothers (1713-19)

MAP OF INDIA

Showing the Condition of the Mughal Empire about 1750 A.D.

to his side Nizam-ul-Mulk one of the greatest of Mughal nobles, then Subadar of the Deccan. But the Emperor's mean intrigues and want of courage rendered that nobleman inactive. In the end, the Sayyad brothers put to death the incompetent Farrukh Siyar (February 1719). After him two nominal Emperors were placed on the throne by the Sayyads only to die in quick succession. Finally, Muhammad Shah, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, a youth of eighteen years, ascended the throne.

Muhammad Shah (1719-48)

As in the case of his predecessors, the Sayyad clansmen formed a close praetorian guard round Muhammad Shah. The Emperor had really no power in management of the state. The Sayyad brothers were really the masters of the situation. They reduced the magnificence of the Mughal court and insulted the Mughal noblility in many ways. In despair the Mughal party now attempted a revolution. Their natural leader, Nizam-ul-Mulk, conceived the idea of consolidating his position in the Deccan so as to neutralise the alliance of the Sayyads with the Marathas. Getting an army in Malwa, of which he was then governor, he marched south and defeated the Maratha deputy. Finally he installed himself in power at Burhanpur and at Aurangabad.

End of the Sayyads 1720

The Sayyad brothers grew alarmed. Hussain Ali made preparations to march on the Deccan. In the meanwhile a plot was hatched against him and he was assassinated. Abdulla, his brother, gathered a new army; but he was defeated near Agra and taken prisoner. Thus was Muhammad Shah freed from the tutelage of the Kingmakers, as the Sayyad brothers were called. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the end of the Sayyads brought new strength to the Empire. For a time it looked as if Muhammad Shah would restore the falling fortunes of the house of Timur. Indeed he appointed the sagacious Nizam-ul-Mulk as his Wazir; but instead of listening to him he leaned more and more to the advice of evil counsellors. The Nizam, in disgust, threw up his office and retired to the Deccan where he founded an almost independent kingdom (1723).

The withdrawal of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccan was followed by a general disruption of the empire. Several semi-independent states began to rise. In Rohilkhand a petty trooper made himself maste or that province. The Jats continued to increase their strength. The Marathas appeared everywhere in Gujarat, in Malwa, in Bengal and

in Bundelkhand. These were not the only dangers that threatened the empire. Nadir Shah a Persian adventurer of obscure origin, had by a successful revolution, usurped the Persian throne (Jan. 1733). He overcame the opposition of the Western Afghans and conquered the Mughal province of Kabul. He next laid siege to Lahore and then advanced on Delhi. In the face of this danger, the Emperor recalled Nizam-ul-mulk; but even he could not save the situation. At Karnal, twenty miles north of Panipat, the Indian army was defeated (Feb. 1739). One of the Mughal courtiers, Sadat Khan, jealous of the growing influence of the Nizam at the court, incited Nadir Shah to proceed to Delhi and plunder the city. The Persian did so. The imperial palace was rifled of all its splendid treasures including the peacock throne. On the second night after Nadir Shah's arrival at Delhi, a rumour spread that the invader had been killed by Mughal soldiers. This so angered Nadir that he ordered a general massacre of the population. Thousands of the civil population fell victims to the Persian sword and it was with the greatest difficulty that Nadir Shah could be persuaded to stay the slaughter. In the end Muhammad Shah was compelled to cede to the invader the Punjab, Multan, Sind and Kabul.

The Invasion of Nadir Shah (1738—39)

Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi encouraged general lawlessness and anarchy in the country. Muhammad Shah although he regained his throne, was unable to maintain order in the land nor was he able to check the predatory invasions of the Marathas. Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747 and immediately his treasurer, Ahmed Shah Abdali, took possession of Khandahar and, in imitation of his master, invaded India. But he was defeated by Prince Ahmed, a younger son of the Emperor Muhammad.

Ahmed Shah Abdali

Mahomed Shah died in 1748 and he was succeeded by Ahmed Shah. The chief events of this reign werea rising of the Rhoillas, which was put down by Safdar Jang of Oudh, and the Marathas and a second invasion of India by Ahmed Shah Abdali. The latter conquered the Punjab and styled himself the Durrani king of Afghanistan. The rest of Ahmed's reign was taken up by court intrigues and party feuds and the streets of Delhi resounded with the battle cries of the Shiah and the Sunni, the Persian and the Mughal. Out of this chaos, Ghazi-ud-din, the grand-

Emperor Ahmed Shah (1748-54)

son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, emerged as dictator and deposed and blinded the Emperor. Another member of the Imperial family was set up on the throne under the title of Alamgir II (1754.)

Alamgir II, 1754-59

This Emperor was the son of Jahandar Shah. Though good-natured, he was weaker as a sovereign than his predecessors. His Wazir, Ghazi-ud-din, attempted in vain to get back lost territory; and to make his position secure he placed all the relatives of the Emperor in honourable captivity. The heir-apparent, the future Shah Alam, however, evaded capture and was wandering from place to place. The Wazir's attempted recovery of the Punjab led once again to the invasion of India by Ahmed Shah Abdali. This time he advanced to Delhi where he proclaimed himself king; Muttra and Agra fell into his hands. He also levied contributions on the Nawab of Oudh. After appointing Najib-ud-daula, a Rohilla chief, as his commander-in-chief at Delhi, Abdali retired.

Battle of Panipat

Ghazi-ud-din now quickly resumed his mischievous activity, Calling in the Marathas under Ragunatha Rao to his aid, he drove out Najib-ud-daula from Delhi and put to death the worthless Alamgir. He raised to the throne another puppet sovereign under the title of Shah Jahan Sani. At Delhi the Marathas were supreme; the Rohillas and other Muhammadan nobles, fearing the intrigues of Ghazi-ud-din and the growing power of the Marathas, invited Ahmed Shah Abdali, who, for the fourth time, invaded India, A pitched battle was fought at Panipat and the Marathas sustained a crushing defeat (Jan. 1761).

Shah Alam, 1759-1806

Shah Alam, who succeeded Alamgir, had a very unfortunate career. Escaping from the custody of Ghazi-ud-din, he went to Oudh and sought the help of its ruler, Shuja-ud-daula. Afraid of entertaining him, the latter suggested to him the recovery of Bengal and Bihar. Shah Alam collected what little force he could and proceeded to invest Patna. Hearing, in the meanwhile, of his father's death, he claimed the Mughal throne.

The Last of the Mughals

In the meanwhile, great events were taking place which were to change the fortunes of the English in India. In 1764, the British fought the battle of Buxar against the Nawab of Oudh and Shah Alam was found, on this occasion, by the side of the Nawab. After the battle, he become the protege of the English and remained at Allahabad under their protection till 1771. In that

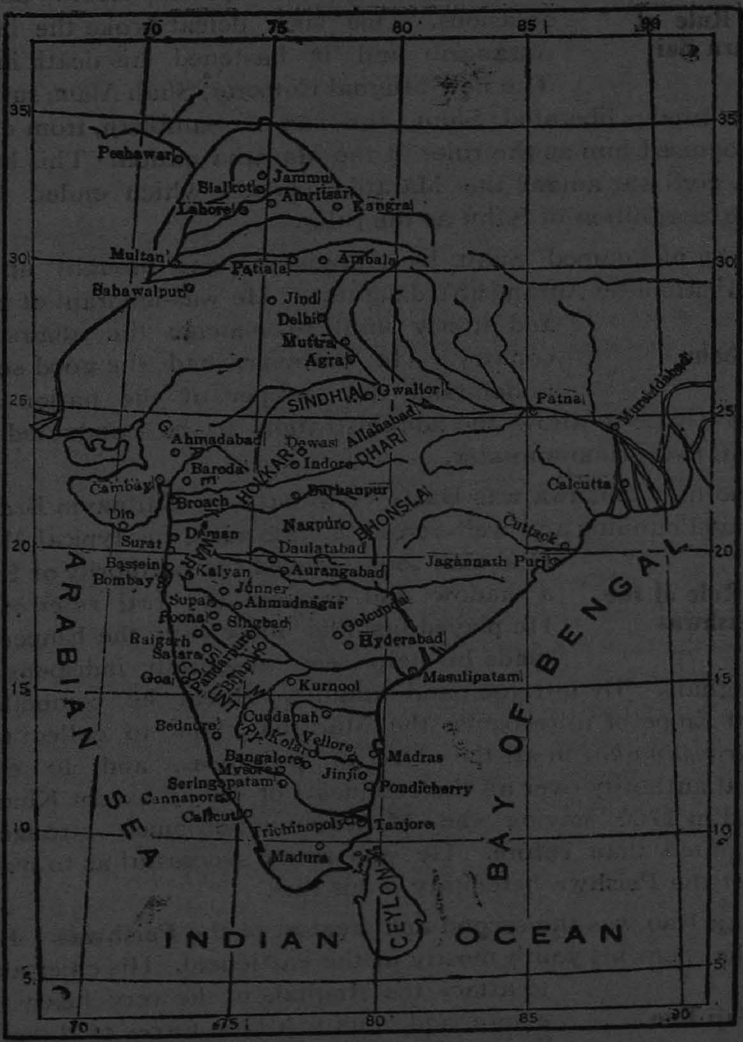
year the Marathas invited the Emperer to enter Delhi. They had acquired vast power and influence in Northern India mainly through the energy of Mahadji Sindhia and they were the real rulers of the country. Shah Alam accepted invitation. Though treated kindly, he was a puppet in the hands of the Marathas. In 1788, when the latter were temporarily absent from Delhi, one Ghulam Kadir a Pathan made an attack on the city, seized the Emperor and blinded him. During his last days, the aged and blind Emperor was a pensioner of the British, who under Lord Lake, drove the Marathas out of Delhi. The Mughal Empire thus came to an end in 1803. Shah Alam died on Nov. 18, 1806. Two persons after him assumed the title of Mughal Emperor, though they really lived on the bounty of the English. One was his son Akbar Shah II (born Apr. 1760—died Sept. 1837), and other his grandson, Bahadur Shah (1837—1862), who after the Mutiny, was deported to Rangoon where he died.

CHAPTER XI

THE PROGRESS OF THE MARATHAS

Aurangzib and the Marathas

We have seen how Sambhaji was cruelly put to death by Aurangzib. After this event, the Maratha leaders resolved to acknowledge Sivaji, the son of Sambhaji, as king with Raja Ram, his uncle as regent. Under the latter, the Marathas bestirred themselves to new life. In spite of Mughal persecution, Raja Ram reorganised the Maratha administration, attacked the Deccan and the Konkan and retook most of the forts that had fallen into the hands of the Mughals. The great fortress of Jinji, however fell to the Mughals in 1698 after a stupendous expenditure of Mughal resources. After the fall of Jinji, Raja Ram fled to Satara and from there he continued to guide the operations of his generals. He was so far successful as to clear Khandesh and Berar of the Mughals and levy *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* all through the route. Some of his generals were made governors of provinces which came under his sway and in these arrangements we have the beginning of the great Maratha dynasties of Baroda and Nagpur. In the meanwhile, the Emperor Aurangzib maintained a vigorous offensive and even the Fort of Satara fell in 1700. Raja Ram, one of the greatest of Maratha statesmen and warriors, died in the same year. After his death there was a succession dispute, which ended in Tara Bai, one of the wives of Raja Ram, becoming the *de facto* ruler of the Maratha state.



MAP OF INDIA

Showing the Expansion of the Maratha Power and the Rise of the Sikhs 1526—1707 A.D:).

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The Rule of Tara Bai

A vigorous ruler and of subtle intelligence, Tara Bai, though only a woman managed ably the affairs of the Maratha state and her army defeated the imperial forces on many occasions. One such defeat broke the heart of Aurangzib and it hastened his death in 1707. The new Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, surnamed Bahadur Shah, liberated Sahu, the son of Sambhaji, from custody and recognised him as the ruler of the Maratha nation. This brought about a civil war among the Maratha parties which ended in the ultimate recognition of Sahu as the ruler.

Sahu

Sivaji nicknamed Sahu by Aurangzib, was brought up in the imperial harem by Aurangzib's daughter. He was ignorant of politics and utterly unfit to manage the affairs of his country. He however, had the good sense to understand the temper of the nation and so thought it wise to allow the administration to be conducted by his Peishwa, *i.e.*, prime-minister.

The Rule of the Peishwas

The first Peishwa was Balaj Viswanath, a Chitpavin Brahman. Astute and cunning and well-versed in statecraft, this typical Maratha Brahman soon reduced the authority of Sahu to a shadow and became the real ruler of state. He played fast and loose with the Emperor and made his help seen absolutely indispensable to the Mughals. By intrigue and military threat he compelled the Mughal Emperor to recognise the Maratha claim to collect *Chauth* and *Surdeshmukhi* in all the Deccan provinces, and to exercise practical authority over all the conquests of Sivaji except Khandesh. He died in 1720 leaving the Maratha nation much stronger and more united than before. He was so far successful as to make the office of the Peishwa hereditary in his line.

Baji Rao

Baji Rao was the second and greatest of the Peishwas. Born in 1696, he spent his youth mostly in the battlefield. His chief aim was to attack the Mughals in the very heart of the empire and to unite all the forces of Maharashtra in a common effort at its uprooting. He plundered ruthlessly the Mughal provinces in order to replenish his own finance. He invaded Malwa, defeated its Mughal governor and left Sahu's agents to rule the various conquered tracts. These agents ultimately developed into the founders of big Maratha states such as those of Dhar, Indore and Gwalior. In short, under this Peishwa, the Maratha power was established in areas under the nominal

authority of the Mughal Emperor and within easy marching distances from Agra and Delhi. He organised a great expedition into the Carnatic under Raghuji Bhonsle, the Chief of Berar and even compelled the Raja of Mysore to pay him tribute. In the midst of the successes he died at the early age of forty two (1740)—a truely great man judged by every standard of merit.

Balaji Baji Rao

Balaji Baji Rao, the third Peishwa, was not so strong as his father and in his time a few of the Maratha chiefs began to assert independence. He made Poona his capital and became the head of the Maratha confederacy. Two years before this, Sahu, the nominal Maratha ruler, had died and the Peishwa practically took the place of the sovereign. In 1758, Raghunatha Rao, a brother of the Peishwa, conquered the whole of the Punjab. Thus it appeared as if the Marathas would become the real sovereigns of India. This growing strength of the Marathas alarmed the Mussalman rulers of Oudh and Rohilkhand who, as has been narrated already, were determined to take up the offensive against the Hindus. Ahmad Shah Durani, the leader of the combined Muslim hosts, met the Marathas at Panipat in January 1761. Sadasiva Rao, the Maratha commander, known as the Bhao, neglecting the advice of experienced commanders who advocated the waging of guerilla warfare on traditional lines, entrenched himself in the fateful field of Panipat with inadequate resources. Disappointed in not getting support from the Deccan he faced the battle single-handed. Although he fought bravely, the odds were against him and the victory was won by the Muslims. Many Maratha chiefs were made captives in the field and slain in cold blood. In short, the Maratha power received a permanent check in this campaign. The Peishwa sank under the blow and after this began the disruption of the Maratha confederacy.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
MUHAMMADAN INDIA

A. D.	
622	Foundation of Islam—The *Hijra*.
632	Death of the Prophet Muhammad.
750—1258	Rule of the Abbasside Caliphs.
962	Rise of the House of the Ghaznavids.
977—997	Amir Sabuktigin.
997—1030	Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

A.D.	
1004	His capture of Multan.
1009	His sack of Nagarkot.
1018—1019	His capture of Muttra and Kanauj.
1020—1021	Mahmud annexed the Punjab.
1023—1024	The Somnath Expedition.
1030	Death of Mahmud.
1152	Rise of the Dynasty of Ghor.
1161—1206	Reign of Muhammad Ghori.
1185—1186	Ghori's occupation of Lahore.
1191—1192	His struggle with Prithvi Raj.
1193	Fall of Kanauj.
1194—1206	Kutb-ud-din, Viceroy of Delhi.
1194	Annexation of Ajmer.
1197—1199	Conquest of Bihar and Bengal.
1206—1290	The Slave Dynasty.
1206—1210	Reign of Kutb-ud-din, the founder of the Indo-Muhammadan Empire.
1210—1235	Reign of Altamish.
1236—1240	Reign of Queen Raziya.
1246—1266	Reign of Sultan Nazir-ud-din.
1266	Balban became Sultan.
1279—1282	Tughril's rebellion.
1287	Death of Balban.
1290—1320	Khilji Imperialism.
1290—1296	Reign of Jalal-ud-din.
1294	Ala-ud-din's first invasion of the Deccan.
1296—1305	Invasions of the Mongols.
1296	Accession of Ala-ud-din.
1303	Fall of Chittor.
1305	Muhammadan conquest of Malwa.
1307—1312	Malik Kafur's invasions of the Deccan and South India.
1316—1320	Rule of Mubarak.
1316	Death of Ala-ud-din.
1320—1351	The early Tughlaks.
1320	Usurpation of Khushru Khan.
1320	Accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak.
1325—1351	Reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak.
1336	Foundation of the city of Vijayanagar by the brothers Harihara and Bukka.
1343	Death of Harihara.
1347	Foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom.
1351—1381	Reign of Firuz Shah, the eighth Sultan.
1391—1399	Invasion of Timur.
1400—1470	Ramananda, the founder of the sect of Ramanandis.
1406—1410	Reign of Deva Raya I.
1412	End of the Tughlak Dynasty.
1414—1451	The Sayyads.
1421—1422	Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar.
1421—1448	Reign of Deva Raya II.
1436—1531	The Khiljis ruled over Malwa.
1440—1518	Date of Kabir, founder of the *Kabirpanti* sect.
1451—1526	The Lodis.
1451—1478	Rule of Bahlol Lodi.
1453	The Turks occupy Constantinople.
1457—1461	Reign of Humayun the Zalim.
1469—1539	Date of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.
1485—1486	The First Usurpation.
1485	Birth of Chaitanya.
1487	Vasco da Gama rounds the Cape of Good Hope.
1509—1529	Reign of Krishna Deva Raya.
1517—1526	Rule of Ibrahim Lodi.

A.D.	
May 1520	Battle of Raichur.
1524	Babar's First Invasion.
1526—1530	Reign of Babar.
1526—1537	Reign of Bahadur Shah.
1526	Battle of Panipat.
,,	Final break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom.
1527	Battle of Sikri.
1529—1544	Reign of Achyuta Raya.
1530—1540	Reign of Humayun.
1531—1535	Conquest of Malwa by Bahadur Shah and Humayun.
1531	Death of Vallabhacharya.
1540—1555	The Sur Dynasty.
1540—1545	Reign of Sher Shah.
1542—1570	Reign of Sadasiva Raya.
July 1555	Humayun recovered the empire.
1556	Death of Humayun.
1556—1605	Reign of Akbar the Great.
Nov. 1556	The Second Battle of Panipat.
1558—1560	Akbar's conquest of Gwalior, Ajmer and the Province of Jaunpur.
1560—1567	Akbar suppressed the Uzbegs.
1562	Malwa finally annexed by Akbar.
1565	Battle of Talikota or Rakhas Tagdi.
June 1567	Akbar defeated Rana Pratab Singh.
Feb. 1568	Siege of Chittor.
1572—1573	Akbar's war against Gujarat.
1572	Civil War in Bengal.
,,	Akbar occupies Gujarat.
,,	The Mughals invaded Khandesh.
1575—1576	Bengal conquered by Akbar.
1575	Death of Tirumala of Vijayanagar.
1575—1586	Rule of Sri Ranga of Vijayanagar.
1579	Akbar promulgated the Infallibility Decree.
1581—1606	The Pontificate of Guru Arjun Singh.
1586	The absorption of the Kashmir kingdom by the Mughals.
1591—1592	The Mughals absorbed Sind.
1591—1592	Gujarat became part of the Mughal Empire.
1591	Akbar's conquest of Southern Sind.
1592	Akbar's conquest of Orissa.
1595	Gallant defence of Ahmadnagar by Chand Bibi.
1599	Fall of Asirgarh.
,,	The End of the Independence of Khandesh.
1605	Death of Akbar.
,,	Accession of Jahangir.
1608	Birth of Tukaram, the Maratha Saint.
,,	Captain Hawkins landed at Surat.
1611	Marriage of Jahangir with Nur Jahan.
1615—1618	Sir Thomas Roe visited the Mughal Court.
1623—1625	Rebellion of Shah Jahan.
1625—1626	Mahabat Khan's *Coup de main.*
1627	Death of Jahangir.
,,	Birth of Sivaji.
1628—1656	Reign of Shah Jahan.
1628	Shah Jahan ascended the throne.
1631	Death of Mumtaz Mahal.
1647	Sivaji commented an aggressive career of war.
1656	Aurangzib as Viceroy attacked Bijapur and Golconda.
1657	Sivaji attacked Mughal territories.
Sept. 1657	The Fractricidal War commenced.
1658—1707	Reign of Aurangzib.

A.D.	
1659	Afzal Khan killed by Sivaji.
,,	Aurangzib took Shah Jahan prisoner.
1663	Sivaji humiliated Shayista Khan.
1665	Treaty of Purandar.
1666	Death of Shah Jahan.
1672	Rebellion of the Satnamis.
1674	Sivaji crowned himself King.
1674—1680	Sivaji took many places in the South.
1675—1708	The Pontificate of Guru Govind Singh.
1675	Death of Tegh Bahadur, the Sikh Guru.
1680	Death of Sivaji.
,,	Accession of Sambhaji I.
1680	War against Mewar (Udaipur).
1681	Rebellion of Prince Akbar.
,,	Prince Akbar reached the Court of Sambhaji.
1685	Aurangzib attacked Golconda.
1686	Aurangzib annexed Bijapur.
1687	Fall of Golconda.
1689	Sambhaji, a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals.
,,	His death.
,,	The Mughals took Raigarh.
1690—1698	Mughal Siege of Jinji.
1692	The Marathas retook Raigarh and Panhala.
1700	Fall of Satara; Death of Raja Ram.
1702—1716	Success of Tara Bai.
1707	Death of Aurangzib.
1708	Bahadur Shah ascended the Mughal throne.
1708—1716	Bairagi Banda's revolt against the Mughals.
1712—1713	Rule of Jahandar Shah.
1713—1719	Reign of Farrukh Siyar.
1713—1720	Rise of Balaji Viswanath, Peishwas.
1714	Begining of the rule of the Peishwas.
1719—1720	The Sayyad Revolution ended.
1720—1724	The Nizam in the Deccan.
1720—1740	The Rule of Baji Rao Peishwa.
1720	Balaji Viswanath died.
1739	Nadir Shah's Invasion of India. His victory at Karnal and plunder of Delhi.
1740	Baji Rao's death.
,,	Accession of Balaji Baji Rao.
1748—1754	Reign of Emperor Ahmed Shah.
1748—1756	First Invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali.
1748	Death of Sahu. Usurpation of the Peishwas.
1754—1759	Reign of Emperor Alamgir II.
1756	Ahmed Shah Abdali attacks Delhi.
1757	Triumphs of Raghunatha Rao in Hindustan.
,,	The Maratha power at its zenith.
1760—1761	The great Battle of Panipat.

CHAPTER VII

THE RISE OF BRITISH POWER

SECTION A

EARLY EUROPEAN TRADERS

From time immemorial there has been considerable intercourse between the East and the West. The historians who accompanied Alexander were the first to give to the western world a systematic account of the religion and social practices of the Hindus. Then came Megasthenes who resided at Pataliputra for a long time as ambassador from Seleukos Nikator. He described, among other things, the way, in which the Mauryas carried on the administration of their country. It is also well-known that Asoka the Great sent missionaries to Syria, Egypt, Mecedon, Cyrene and other places. This contact between India and the West was not merely cultural. From the days of Solomon, articles of luxury had been imported from the East into the Mediterranean countries. The Roman empire consumed Indian spices in great quantities; pearls, silks and muslins from the East were equally in great demand by the nobles of Rome. India exported, besides, other articles like onyx stones, ivory, cotton fabrics, indigo, skins and tortoise shell. In return she received gold, silver and steel goods. Roman coins from the days of Augustus to those of Hadrian are even now dug up in various parts of South India. It is also important to remember that Pliny, the great Roman naturalist (second cent, A.D.), lamented in his writings that Rome paid India more than £2,000,000 sterling for articles imported.

The East and the West

There were three main routes of trade from India to the Mediterranean coast from early times. The most northern of these started from the Indus valley and skirting the Aral and Caspian Seas reached the Black Sea and then Constantinople and the Mediterranean cities. There was again the Indo-Syrian route which ran from the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates through Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert to Damascus and thence to the Levant or to Egypt. The third route was the Indo-Egyptian route or Southern route. It led from the west coast of India to the mouth of the Red Sea. Goods were then carried to Egypt and Alexandria by caravans. In ancient

Early Trade Routes

times Constantinople, Venice, Genoa and the cities of the Hanseatic League monopolised the rich commerce of the East going through these routes. But rivalry and jealousy among these powers led to the rise of the Turks, who by the middle of the fifteenth century occupied Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. When the Turks became masters of Western Asia, it was no longer possible for the Christian West to ply an easy trade along the old routes. There was a scarcity of Asiatic goods in Europe and their prices when they could be procured, were enormous. Thus was roused the spirit of European maritime enterprise to the discovery of new routes to the East which would be independent of the Mediterranean.

The Portuguese Enterprise

Of the nations of Europe, the Portuguese were the earliest to covet the wealth and commerce of the East. One of their kings, Prince Henry the Navigator, spent his whole life and fortune in attempting to discover a sea route to India by sailing round Africa. Inspired by his example, Bartholomew Diaz went south and discovered the Cape of Good Hope (1486 A.D.). Greatly encouraged by this discovery, John II of Portugal sent Vasco da Gama, a gentlemen of his household, to find out if land lay beyond the wild southern seas. This expedition under Gama successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut on May 20, 1498, after a tedious and by no means smooth voyage of eleven months. Although well received by the Zamorin of Calicut, da Gama perceived that the Arabs were hostile to him. The safe return home of this adventurer with a rich cargo so kindled the imagination of the Portuguese that they resolved to capture the entire Indian trade from the Arabs or Moors. In 1500 A. D. they fitted out a second expedition under Pedro Alvares Cabral who reached Calicut after braving a tempestuous sea and accidentally discovering Brazil. He found the Moors in no mood to tolerate the Portuguese in the Indian waters. Helped by the Zamorin they resisted the Portuguese landing. Cabral in defence bombarded Calicut and after inflicting as much damage as he could on the place, sailed northwards to Cochin and Cannanore where he strengthened the Portuguese factories already established.

Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama

In 1502, Vasco da Gama came to India a second time. He fortified the Portuguese factories at Cochin and Cannanore entered into a definite alliance with the Raja of Cochin who was in open warfare with his rival the Zamorin and began a regular crusade against the Mussalman traders. Leaving a squadron of ships to patrol the Malabar coast, he returned to Portugal.

The small band of Portugues soldiers left by da Gama soon distinguished itself in battle. In 1504 Duarte Pacheco, a Portuguese captain, bravely defended Cochin when attacked by the whole force of the Zamorin, and, in conjunction with another captain, Lopa Soares, destroyed also the enemy ports of Quilon, Calicut and Cranganore. Thus, between 1498 and 1505 A. D., the Portuguese had built several factories, fortified them and completely destroyed Arab influence in Malabar.

Further Portuguese Successes

Having obtained in 1502 A. D, a Bull from Pope Alexander VI, constituting him 'Lord of India,' the king of Portugal sent to the east his first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida (1505 to 1509). His main idea was to secure for Portugal the entire monopoly of the trade of the Indian Ocean. To this end he wished to rely more on the sea power of the Portuguese than on their land forts. In this he was not mistaken. Perceiving that with the discovery of the Cape route and advent of the Portuguese all Muslim trade was ruined, the Sultan of Egypt was determined to annihilate the sea power of the foreigners. The Zamorin of Calicut and the Sultan of Gujarat, enemies of the Portuguese enterprise in the East, fell in with the scheme of the Egyptians and their combined fleet moved towards the Bombay coast. In the first encounter the Portuguese were defeated near Chaul (1508). Later on, Almeida fought a stubborn fight at Diu and emerged completely victorious. This battle secured to Christendom its naval supremacy in Asia and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea.

The Portuguese Empire in India

Almeida was succeeded by Albuquerque, the greatest of all the Portuguese Viceroys. Filled with an ambition to establish firmly a portuguese empire in India, he discarded the policy of Almeida and entered into alliances with such Indian powers as would help him against the Moors. He intercepted the Muslim trade effectively at its base in the Nile and the Euphrates valleys by occupying the mouths of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. In 1510, he took Goa from the Mussalman state of Bijapur and it thenceforth became the Portuguese capital in India. In 1515, he captured Ormuz, an island at the head of the Persian Gulf, and fortified it. Earlier in 1511, he had seized Malacca, an important port which dominated the entire Malaya Peninsula. In India, he planted many new factories and encouraged the Portuguese settlers to marry Indian women

Albuquerque 1509-15

so that they might become regular colonists instead of being mere garrisons. He promoted the peace and prosperity of the settlements by adopting a policy of friendliness with the rulers of Vijayanagar and even Bijapur.

Successors of Albuquerque

The successors of Albuquerque failed to grasp the political policy of this great Viceroy, although we find among them distinguished statesmen and gallant soldiers. Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy, from 1529 to 1538, settled the Portuguese in Bengal, and Hooghly became their headquarters. This wealthy city was, however, captured by Shah Jahan in 1632. In 1538 da Cunha erected a fortress at Diu which withstood a combined attack on it by the Turks and the Sultan of Gujarat. The successors of da Cunha cared only for commerce. They did not make any great discoveries or plans of conquest or capture any other Muhammadan markets of Asia. The Portuguese monopoly of the Indian Ocean remained unbroken till 1595 when it began to be invaded by others.

Portuguese Decline: Causes

The decline of Portuguese power in India was due to many causes. In the first place, Portugal is a small kingdom and its slender resources were unable to maintain the requirements of its Asiatic dominion. The Portuguese trading methods often degenerated into piracy. The private trade of the officials and their frauds diminished the profits of the state. They treated their Indian subjects with great cruelty. Their relationship with the Indian states was always unfriendly. The successors of Albuquerque developed a desire to convert all their Asiatic subjects to their own faith even at the point of the sword. After 1540, the Portuguese Government came to be dominated by priests who displayed great bigotry and introduced the inquisition into India. In 1580, the Portuguese crown was united with that of Spain. This meant the neglect of all true Portuguese interests in the East. When however in 1640, Portugal regained its independence, it had to compete in the Asiatic waters with two powerful maritime states, Holland and England. In the inevitable struggle that ensued, Portugal lost most of her privileges and factories. All that remain to the Portuguese in India today are Goa, Diu and Daman.

The Portuguese monopoly of the eastern commerce excited the cupidity of many European nations, and chiefly the Dutch. A new spirit of liberty and nationality dominated the Dutch mind in the sixteenth century and trained by the physical circumstances of their

country in having to battle with the sea, the Dutch became expert mariners. The whole of Holland was a beehive of industry and its principal cities like Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam became the great emporia from which eastern goods were distributed to the rest of the European world. With a view to capture the eastern trade more effectively, they formed in 1602 a "United East India Company of the Netherlands." Effectively aided by the state, this Commercial Corporation entered into rivalry with the Portuguese in the eastern waters and disputed their supremacy on the sea. They also came in conflict with the English, about which we shall read later on.

The Dutch in India, 1696-1824

The most enduring work of the Dutch in the East was the foundation in 1619 of the city of Batavia by their famous Governor-General Coen. Earlier in 1605, they had taken Amboyna from the Portuguese and in 1641 they drove them from Malacca. In the mainland of India, the Dutch established several factories at Pulicat, Surat and Masulipatam. Their ships went boldly up the Bay of Bengal and in spite of disturbed condition of the times founded colonies at Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Patna and Decca in Bengal. Besides Ahmadabad and Agra in Northern India, they wrested from the Portuguese several stations on the Malabar coast.

Their Wars and Settlements

Although the Dutch possessed many settlements in India, they had neither the leisure nor the genius for business to look after their Indian factories; indeed they cared more for their interests in the East Indian Archipelago. Drawn into the vortex of European politics, they had to wage long and exhausting wars with both England and France (1652—1713 A. D.)which crippled considerably their maritime power. In the course of these wars, they dealt such heavy blows on the French that the balance of commercial and naval power turned in favour of the English who began to oust the Dutch from their various settlements. "Their somewhat short sighted commercial policy, which was based upon a monopoly of trade in spices, though effective in the Malayan Archipelago, hardly fitted them to play a great part on the continent of India." Their cruelty towards their commercial rivals and their contempt for the natives with whom they came in contact, brought them no credit. It was Robert Clive, the brave English captain, that first sounded the knell of Dutch supremacy in the Indian waters. He took Chinsura from them in 1759 and between

Their Decline

that year and 1811, they were gradually stripped of all their Indian possessions. Their remoter colonies did not fare better. England took from Holland most of them. At present, the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India. But quaint houses, Dutch tiles and carvings at Chinsura, Negapatam, Jaffna, and at petty ports on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, with the formal canals in some of these old settlements, remind the traveller of scenes in the Netherlands.

English attempts to reach India date back to the period of Henry VII (1496) who granted letters patent to discover a north-east route to India. Vigorous attempts were made by many English adventurers from 1576 to 1616 to discover a north-east route to the East Indies. It was in 1591 that the first English voyage round the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean was accomplished. From that time the East Indies became familiar to English men, especially to members of the Levant Company, a trading corporation. A few of the latter joined together and sought from Queen Elizabeth a charter conferring on them the privilege of trading with the East Indies. The Queen, aware of her own gains in this proposal, granted the charter on the last day of the year 1600. Thus came into existence "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies"—known also as the East India Company. To start with, individual members of this Corporation formed small groups and conducted trading expeditions to the Spice Archipelago. As soon as one group of traders returned, another group was formed. It was the fleet of the third voyage that effected a landing on the coast of India (1608). This period of separate voyages extended from 1601 to 1612 A.D. These 'separate voyages' were not viewed with favour by the financiers and they were replaced by the system of 'Joint Stocks' "The change simply meant that groups of adventurers for single voyages were replaced by some-what less ephemeral groups for three or four voyages."

The English and the East India Company

It was not an easy matter for the English to effect an entry into India. The Portuguese were already supreme on the Bombay coast and they were practically policing the Indian waters. The English had yet to prove their valour before the Indian. When the English attempted a landing at Surat in 1611, the Portuguese drove them away. However, the following year, Sir Thomas Bart defeated the Portuguese in the waters of Swally. After that the

The English and Portuguese Rivalry

prestige of the English in India gradually rose and the Portuguese themselves were compelled to acknowledge the right of the English to trade in the East.

The Anglo-Dutch Rivalry

But it was a more difficult task to deal with the Dutch. The adventurers of the two nations on the high seas were equally intrepid and notwithstanding peace at home between these two Protestant nations, their representatives abroad were always fighting for commercial advantages leading their respective governments into delicate situations. On one occasion the Dutch seized an English captain and nine other Englishmen at Amboyna (1623) and after torturing them, executed them. There was an outburst of fury in England against this, but the English king, James, thought it prudent not to wage war against Holland. In the end peace prevailed between the countries and the Dutch were left more or less in undisturbed possession of the Malayan Archipelago.

English Factories

With the power of the Portuguese and the Dutch steadily waning, the English began slowly to make head-way in India and acquire sites and factories. Thus Captain Hawkins of the Third Separate Voyage visited Jahangir at Agra and obtained from him permission to build a factory at Surat. But the Portuguese by their machinations rendered the grant useless. However, two years later, an English factory was established at Surat which became the headquarters for English commercial operations in India. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe visited the Mughal court and did much to further English trade interests. In the meanwhile the English traders were making their presence felt in the Coromandel coast as well. In 1630, Masulipatam became a permanent English settlement, and nine years later, Francis Day purchased a site from a Hindu Raja on which he built Fort St. George, 'the first fortified position held by the East India Company.' The English were not less active in Bengal. The first English factories in Bengal were founded in 1633 at Balasore and Hariharpur. Gabriel Boughton, an English surgeon, having cured the Viceroy of Bengal of a dangerous illness, obtained permission from him (1651) for the English to build a factory at Hooghly. When Charles II married Catherine of Braganza, Bombay was ceded to him as part of the dowry. The English king in his turn, handed it over to the East India Company for yearly payment of ten pounds (1668). Under Gerald Aungier, a President of Surat, Bombay became the most important centre in West India.

So long as there was general peace and security in India, the English plied their trade as simple merchants. But this policy of peaceful commerce soon gave way to one of establishing their military power in the land. The reason for this change in policy was to be found in the general political condition of the times. In the latter days of Aurangzib, forces of disorder began to assert themselves everywhere with the result that the English trade suffered much. The distant Mughal Viceroys were unable to grant the English any security for their trade and commerce, and for self-defence, the English began constructing forts and fortifications. These warlike preparations led to frequent conflicts with the ruling power. In Bengal, the Mughal Viceroy drove the English out of the country; but later on, in 1690, Job Charnock, the chief of the Hooghly factory, returned and built Fort William which was developed into the modern Calcutta.

Trouble in India

The monopoly of the eastern trade enjoyed by the East India Company excited the avarice and cupidity of big financiers in England and they raised the cry that trade with India should be thrown open to all. The Stuart kings took the cue, and being ever in need of money, found fresh sources of revenue in the issue of new charters. A new English East India Company was formed on a joint stock basis (1698). The position in India was therefore very complicated. There were two trading corporations, rival concerns with their separate Presidents and officers. Long and bitter were the quarrels that arose out of this situation and English prestige suffered seriously on this account. Finally, the Government at home brought about the union of these two companies, and this new concern was styled the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

The United East India Company

The French were the last to realise the advantages of trade with the East. In 1615, a United Company was formed to trade it he eastern seas; but the Dutch opposition to it was so great that very little was achieved by the Company. But Richelieu, who became the minister of France, was determined to revive eastern commerce. Under his auspices a new Company was formed with the avowed object of trading with the Indies. The promoters of this Company, however, wasted their resources in a vain endeavour to colonise Madagascar. In 1664, Colbert, the ablest minister France

The Advent of the French

had ever known, organised the famous French East India Company which possessed the exclusive right to trade with India for fifty years.

In 1668, Caron, a Dutch sailor, employed by this new French Company, founded the first French factory in India at Surat. Another French courtier and diplomat, Mercara, obtained the permission of the Sultan of Golconda to build a factory at Masulipatam. St. Thome (Mylapore) was soon added to the list. It was taken from the Dutch by a French commander, Lahaye.

Early French Settlements

An event of capital importance in the history of the French was the founding of Pondicherry (1674) by Francis Martin, a servant of the French Company. He built it on a site granted to him by Sher Khan Lodi, Governor of Tanjore. The town that rapidly grew up was excellently situated both for purposes of trade and defence and it eventually became the base of all French operations in South India.

Foundation of Pondicherry

Martin, who was later on appointed the French Governor General, did much to further French interests in India. Under his skilful management and watchful care, Pondicherry rose from a small village to a big town with good fortifications. He befriended the natives and the neighbouring Indian rulers. He interfered very little in the politics of the surrounding states and made the French name honoured and respected. M. Benoit Dumas was one of his successors. Like Martin, he was a lover of peace; but he wanted to take advantage of the prevailing confusion in the politics of South India and advance French interests. Thus he interfered in a succession dispute in Tanjore and obtained as a reward Karaikal, a small town near the mouth of the Coleroon river. When the Marathas invaded the Carnatic (1740), defeated and killed its Nawab, Dost Ali, Dumas gave shelter to Chanda Saheb, the Nawab's son-in-law and to the ladies of the Nawab's family. When the Marathas threatened him with the destruction of Pondicherry, if he refused to yield the refugees, Dumas answered with defiance. The Mughal Emperor was so pleased with the brave stand of Dumas that he conferred on him the title of Nawab and made him a commander of 4,500 horse. The patriotic Governor obtained permission to transfer the title and other honours to his successors. "It seemed indeed, when Dumas left Pondicherry, that it would be only necessary for his successor to continue the same

Martin and Dumas

cautious and prudent yet daring and acquisitive policy to make Pondicherry the most powerful and important city in Southern India." That successor was Dupleix.

SECTION B

RIVALRY OF THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH

The political history of the British in India may be said to commence with the advent of Joseph Francis Dupleix in South India.

Dupleix

This astute politician was born in 1697. He entered the Company's service in 1720 as the First Councillor of the Supreme Council. From the beginning of his career, he evinced the keenest interest in the affairs of the French in India and had made from time to time most brilliant suggestions to improve them. In 1731, he was placed in charge of the French settlement at Chandranagore, which was then languishing. By wise and vigorous measures, he made it the most important European settlement in Bengal. By sheer ability and genius, he rose to the position of Governor-General at Pondicherry (1741). His sole ambition was to make France the dominant nation in India. He fulfilled the policy of Dumas and was determined to interfere effectively in the politics of the Deccan and South India only to make his nation great. He strengthened the fortifications and increased the navy. For this he used his own fortune, obtained by private trade. He befriended the neighbouring ruling powers. He improved the administration and put down corruption. Absolute master of the situation, he worked hard to strengthen the French position and destroy English influence and settlements in South India.

An opportunity soon arose for Dupleix to carry out his intentions. War was declared in Europe between England and France in 1744—

The First Anglo-French Struggle

the War of the Austrian Succession. The Directors of the French Company advised Dupleix to preserve peace in India with the English. Would the ambitious French Governor agree to it? He was anxiously waiting, on the other hand, for hostilities to commence. When an English fleet appeared before Pondicherry, Dupleix induced the Nawab of Arcot, in whose territory both the combatants had built their forts, to prevent fighting within his country. The English obeyed the Nawab and withdrew. Later on when the French Commander, La Bourdonnais, appeared before Madras, Dupleix gave orders to attack it. Madras surrendered without trouble and all that was left for the English was Fort St. David, situated a little south

of Pondicherry. Four years after the declaration of war, the English took the offensive and attacked Pondicherry, both by land and sea. But in the same year peace was restored in Europe by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), and Madras was handed over to the English.

The Second Anglo-French Struggle

The second war between the French and the English took place while their respective governments in Europe were at peace with each other. It arose out of peculiar nature of South Indian politics. To understand this, we have first to study the distribution of political power in the Deccan.

South India After Aurangzib

After the death of Aurangzib, the great Mughal Emperor, in 1707, disruptive tendencies set in everywhere within the realm. The Deccan became practically independent under Nizam-ul-Mulk who established a hereditary dynasty at Hyderabad. The Nawab of the Carnatic was a deputy of this ruler, and he exercised sway over 'the lowland tract between the central plateau and the eastern sea.' In the south, there were Hindu Rajas ruling at Trichinopoly and Tanjore while semi-independent Poligars flourished everywhere.

Disputed Succession

In 1748, Nizam-ul-Mulk died and the Hyderabad throne was thus rendered vacant. There was a keen contest for it between Nazir Jang, his second son, and Muzaffar Jang, a grandson of the deceased Nizam. The latter entered into a conspiracy with one Chanda Sahib, who was to get the throne of the Carnatic, then occupied by Anwar-ud-din. Chanda Sohib and Dupleix were old friends, and to the latter an appeal was made by Muzaffar. Dupleix considered the situation well and calculated that by helping Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar the French would easily assume leadership in South India. No time was lost by the French Governor in organising a force, which marched into the Carnatic and defeated Anwar-ud-din. At Ambur, the latter was slain and Chanda Sahib was proclaimed Nawab of Arcot. Muhammad Ali, the son of the murdered Nawab, fled to Trichinopoly and shut himself up there.

The Hyderabad Throne

Thus one plan of the conspirators was successful. There was yet the other and more important plan regarding the Subadarship of the Deccan. Nasir Jang, one of the claimants to the Hyderabad throne, was a more intractable enemy. He had enlisted, by a lavish expenditure of gold, the support of the Maratha Commander, Murari Rao, and of an English force under Major Lawrence. The

entire army now marched from Arcot and at one time it appeared as if the schemes of Dupleix would be shattered. The Maratha pursued the French up to the walls of Pondicherry and even took Muzaffar Jang prisoner. But Dupleix did not lose courage. He ordered his Commander, M. de la Touche, to attack the Maratha camp. This was done immediately. The French then took Tiruvadi. Bussy, another lieutenant of Dupleix, of whom we shall read more, conceived and executed the daring plan of attacking Jinji, considered the most impregnable of all fortresses, and by his success increased the prestige of the French.

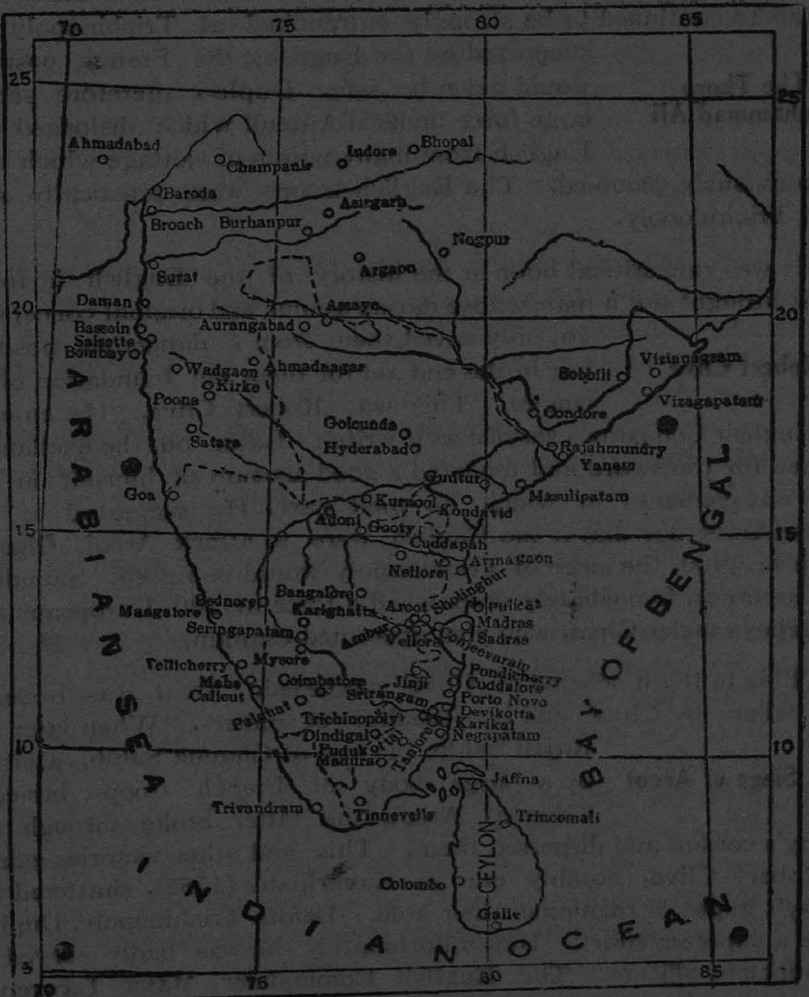
Even this brilliant military success did not deter Nasir Jang from taking a vigorous offensive against the French. But fortune favoured Dupleix. Nasir Jang was shot dead by his own followers and Muzaffar was at once proclaimed the Subadar of the Deccan. The French were so elated at this double success that Dupleix ordered the erection of a town on the site of the battle, which gave such glory to the French, to be called Dupleix-fath-abad (the place of the victory of Dupleix). In the hour of victory Muzaffar showered great favours on his European allies, the most important of them being that Dupleix was made Nawab or Governor of the country south of the river Krishna upto Cape Comorin, including Mysore and Carnatic.

The English Position

The English were watching with dismay and anxiety the growing importance of the French in South India. They were therefore resolved to uphold the cause of Muhammad Ali, then shut up at Trichinopoly. Otherwise, with Dupleix and Bussy controlling the Deccan politics, and their *proteges* occupying the two thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot, they would be nowhere in Southern India. A large force was therefore sent from Fort St. David with orders to co-operate with Muhammad Ali. Serving in it was a young Commissariat Lieutenant, Robert Clive.

Salabat Jang the new Subadar

Let us now turn our attention to Muzaffar. After his success, he proceeded to the northern part of his dominions accompanied by Bussy, the French Commander. On his way, he was treacherously killed by the Nawab of Kurnool. The situation was critical for the French. Their *protege*, the ruler of the Deccan, had been killed. But Bussy acted quickly. Delay he knew to be dangerous. He at once nominated as Muzaffar's successor Salabat Jang, a brother of the murdered Nasir Jang. This selection was unexceptionable and on January 29, 1751, Salabat Jang was



MAP OF SOUTH INDIA

Illustrating the French and the Mysore Wars

solemnly invested as Subadar at Aurangabad. In gratitude for their services and influenced by Bussy, the Subadar granted to the French the entire Northern Circars.

The Thorn Muhammad Ali

But Muhammad Ali was a thorn in the side of the French. So long as he continued to be strongly entrenched at Trichinopoly and supported by the English, the French position would never be safe. Dupleix therefore sent a large force under d'Autenil which dislodged the English from many points of vantage which they had previously occupied. The English troops were practically shut up in Trichinopoly.

Robert Clive

It was this critical hour in the history of the English in India, which brought out a man whose daring genius and original conception not only saved them from a dangerous position but in the end aid for them the foundation of an empire. This was Robert Clive. He entered the English Company's service as a writer. Later on, he exchanged the pen for the sword and rendered a good account of himself in the many engagements in which he took part. He suggested to the Madras Governor that if the English were to attack Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. Saunders, the Governor, immediately despatched a force of 200 Europeans and 320 sepoys under Clive, who was appointed Captain.

The Siege of Arcot

This brilliant scheme of Clive succeeded. Arcot was besieged and taken by Clive and his handful of soldiers. When later on, Rajah Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, assisted by a large body of French troops, besieged Clive at Arcot, the latter broke through the enemy's cordon and dispersed them. This and other victories gained by Robert Clive, notably one at Kaveripauk (1752), shattered the enemy's hopes of regaining their hold. Before Trichinopoly, Dupleix made a supreme effort. But unfortunately he was badly served by incompetent officers. The English Commander, Major Lawrence, proved himself superior to the strategy of Dupleix and defeated the French and their allies before Trichinopoly. In the course of the struggle, Chanda Sahib was killed. Thus the cause of the English triumphed and Muhammad Ali was able to maintain his position at Arcot.

If the French had lost their position and influence in the Deccan they more than steadily maintained their control of the Deccan

politics. This was due to the tact and political wisdom of Bussy.

Bussy and the Deccan

From 1751, when Salabat Jang was recognised as the Subadar, till 1758, he exercised some sort of an occult control over the Subadar and continued to supply Dupleix with large sums of money to carry on his ruinous wars against the English. The Nizam also recognised the wisdom of retaining him in his court as his presence there was a terror to the Marathas, who in his temporary absence began to plunder the country. When Dupleix's successor recalled Bussy from his post, all French influence was definitely lost in South India.

After the French failure before Trichinopoly, the Directors of the French East India Company were growing uneasy in regard to their position in India. Their treasury was getting empty and the atmosphere of Europe was resounding with the victories of Clive and

The Recall of Dupleix

Lawrence. While sending home bombastic despatches of success and acquisition of territories, Dupleix mentioned very little about the disastrous French defeats. It should also be borne in mind that he had many powerful and influential enemies at home, including the French king's commissary, Silhouette. No wonder therefore that the Company resolved to recall Dupleix.

Dupleix was one of the greatest personages in South Indian politics. A great administrator and splendid organizer, he had a

His Character and Achievements

quick and subtle intellect. He had amazing energy and his patriotism was unbounded. He had also many faults, not the least of them being a tendency to be over optimistic in everything. He was not always quite practical in his aims. Nor was he a successful general in leading armies.

The Directors of the French Company sent in 1754, as has been mentioned already, Godeheu to supersede Dupleix, who after

The Third Anglo-French Struggle or the Seven Years' War

retirement, died in disgrace and in abject poverty. In 1756, the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe and once again England and France came to blows. It was a war for commercial and colonial supremacy. The French Government sent Count de Lally Tolleudal to conduct operations in India and drive the English out of it. He landed in April 1758 and at once started bombarding Fort St. David, which fell. Though a gallant soldier, Lally was peevish and hot-tempered

and he alienated the sympathy of all the French officers in India. One of his worst acts was the recall of Bussy from the court of the Nizam, where he was maintaining the influence of the French. Marquis de Conflans was put in charge of French affairs in the Circars.

Battle of Wandiwash 1760

In the meanwhile, Robert Clive, who had gone to Bengal, sent Col. Ford, a very able officer, to the Northern Circars. Forde fully justified the expectations formed of him He defeated Conflans at Condore (December 1758) and stormed Masulipatam, which was later on ceded to the British by Salabat Jang. What was Lally doing? He did not like Bussy and his scheme of a French dominion based on alliances with the Indian powers. He devoted his energies to the well-nigh impossible task of driving the English out of India. He laid siege to Madras in December 1758; but was forced to raise it on the arrival of an English fleet at sea. In 1760, Sir Eyre Coote defeated the French in a decisive engagement at Wandiwash, in which Bussy was taken prisoner. The following year, the English invested Pondicherry and it was starved to surrender. With the fall of Jinji, a few months later, the French hope of establishing a dominion in India was gone for ever. The Peace of Paris in 1763 terminated the Seven Years' War in Europe, and Pondicherry was returned to the French, though with its fortifications demolished.

Causes for the Failure of the French

The immediate cause of the failure of the French was no doubt, the incompetency of Lally. His recall of Bussy from Hyderabad was a grave blunder as thereby the French lost the main basis of support for their Carnatic operations. The great schemes of Dupleix were not properly understood by his countrymen and he was ill-supported with men and resources. Conflans and Lally had not the genius of Clive and Lawrence. The French commanders were all men of meaner mould and inferior capacity and often enough indiscipline in the army rendered effective action in the field impossible. Above all, what contributed to the success of the English in the struggle was their superiority on the sea. It was their naval power that more than counter balanced French victories on land.

Bengal Affairs

Interest in British Indian history now centred in Bengal. That country was one of the great dependencies of the Mughal Emperor, and after the death of Aurangzib in 1707, was governed by Murshid Kuli Khan. He transferred his capital from Dacca in East Bengal to

Murshidabad in the neighourhood of which the English, the French and the Dutch had their respective factories. European trade in that part of the country being profitable, this Nawab of Bengal (viceroy) rarely interfered with the European merchants so long as they maintained the peace of the land. In 1740, the throne was usurped by Ali Vardi Khan, and, after his death in 1756, he was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daula, whose ungovernable temper led to a rupture with the English within two months of his accession.

The Black Hole of Calcutta

In view of the impending struggle between the French and the English in 1756, the latter repaired all their fortifications in Bengal, especially Fort William. Siraj-ud-daula ordered them to desist from the work and further asked them to yield up a fugitive who had taken refuge in Fort William. The English refused to do so, and the Nawab immediately attacked Fort William. A few officers and men took shelter in the ships, and the rest, 146 prisoners, including a woman, were put in a cell, eighteen feet square and confined there during a hot June night. Next morning when the door of the cell was opened, 123 prisoners were found dead. Did the Nawab really perpetrate this crime? Was he privy to it in any way? These questions have been discussed often by scholars. "The Nawab does not appear to have been personally responsible for this ghastly deed, which was due partly to the stupidity, partly to the savagery, of subordinates but he never attempted to punish the perpetrators and treated the survivors with callous severity?

English Reprisals

When the news of this tragedy reached Madras, Clive and Watson, the Admiral of the English fleet set sail to Calcutta and recovered it without much fighting. The situation might have ended there; but fresh quarrels sprang up between the English and Siraj-ud-daula. A renewal of hostilities in Europe between England and France led to the English attack on the French settlement of Chandranagore. The Nawab protested that no such hostile action should take place within his jurisdiction. It was indeed becoming evident that the Nawab and the English could not remain in peace. Taking advantage of the fact that the Nawab was unpopular among his own officers, Robert Clive boldly entered into a conspiracy with one Mir Jafar, commander of the Nawab's forces. The object of the conspirators was to dethrone the Nawab and place Mir Jafar on the throne. A wealthy Sikh

financier, Amin Chand, knew every detail of the plot and at one stage demanded a large sum of money to keep the secret. It was on this occasion that Robert Clive forged the name of Watson and handed over a written promise to pay the demanded amount to Amin Chand.

Having settled the details of the conspiracy, Clive took a brave stand against the ill-fated Nawab and demanded explanations for various acts of omission and commission by him.

The Battle of Plassey 1757

Receiving no satisfactory reply, Clive marched from Chandranagore northwards with a large force and pitched his camp in the famous grove of Plassey, a village twenty-three miles south of Murshidabad. There he held his council of war. Although a majority of the Councillors were against the war and wanted Clive to bide for some time more, the latter decided to act quickly and strike at once, although the attitude of Mir Jafar was uncertain. The army moved and crossed the river Bagirathi. The battle was fought on June 23, 1757. The Nawab's army was fickle-minded. The only resistance to the English came from the handful of French soldiers engaged by the Nawab whose ammunition had become wet the previous night owing to rains. Clive won and the British power in India was established firmly. After the victory, Mir Jafar, who was hovering in the rear with his troops came to meet Clive, who saluted him as the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Mir Jafar showered immense gifts on Clive and on other high officers of the Company. To the Company the Nawab made a grant of the zamindari of a large tract round Calcutta, known now as the Twenty-Four Parganas. In 1759, Robert Clive was given the absolute proprietorship of the above district. Thus he, a servant of the Company, became, in one sense, its master. Clive returned to England in 1760. Two years earlier he had been appointed Governor of Bengal by the Court Directors.

The Gifts of Mir Jafar

Mir Jafar was old and weak and utterly unable to manage his affairs. In the absence of Clive, the English Council at Calcutta quietly dethroned him and elevated in his place, his son-in-law, Mir Kasim. As a reward, the English obtained from the new Nawab a grant of three districts, Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, yielding about fifty lakhs a year. The new ruler soon realised that the English desired him to be a puppet in their hands. He was not disposed to fall in with this. The English, he saw plainly, were abusing their

Mir Kasim

trade privileges in such a manner as to contract his revenues. He very naturally complained to the Council at Calcutta that his civil authority was being set at naught everywhere. Misunderstandings grew apace. The Nawab's officers took punitive action against all offenders. Soon the whole country was ablaze. English officers at Patna and elsewhere were massacred. Open war was therefore declared against Mir Kasim by the English.

The battle of Buxar 1764

Although Mir Kasim had trained regiments with him, they were defeated easily by the English in the two engagements of Gheria and Udhu Nullah. In despair, Mir Kasim fled from the country, and took refuge under Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh. The latter was known as the Vizier of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam and consequently was very influential. When asked to deliver up Mir Kasim, he not only proudly refused to do so, but united his army with that of the shadowy Mughal and advanced against the English. Sir Hector Munro, the English general, met the Muslim forces at Buxar and won a brilliant victory. This battle was very important as it brought the Mughal Emperor as a humble suppliant to the English camp. Another result of the battle was that the old Mir Jafar was given back the Nawabship of Bengal.

The Settlement of Bengal

During his first term of office as Governor of Bengal, Clive was not able to accomplish much. When he returned a second time in 1765 to the same office, a very heavy task awaited him. He first had to bring about a settlement of the newly-acquired tracts in Northern India. He gave back Oudh to its original ruler, who paid the English fifty lakhs of rupees towards the expenses of the war. The provinces of Kora and Allahabad were given to the Emperor, Shah Alam, "who in his turn granted to the Company the *Diwani* or fiscal administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, together with the Northern Circars. Thus was constituted the dual system of government by which the English received the revenues of Bengal and undertook to maintain the army, while the criminal jurisdiction or *Nizamat* was vested in the Nawab." Clive's next task was to put down official corruption. He forbade all private trade and the habit of receiving presents, but substantially increased the pay of the Company's servants. He retired from India in 1767.

Clive had a number of enemies in England. They entered into an alliance with a political party and persecuted him for acts done in India. Two committees were formed to frame charges against him.

Clive defended himself passionately and with great ability. After an all night sitting, the House of Commons was obliged to acknowledge Clive's meritorious services to his country, although his several actions were condemned. After his trial, Robert Clive grew melancholy, and committed suicide (Nov. 1774). Lord Clive is generally considered a 'heaven-born' general. It was he that laid the foundation of the British empire in India. "His headlong valour on the battle-field, his splendid daring and audacity in a political crisis, his moral courage in facing disaffected and mutinous subordinates, his force and fire in debate, all justify the lofty verdict of Lord Macaulay that our island 'has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great, either in army or in council.'"

Last Days of Clive

CHAPTER XIII

THE EARLY GOVERNORS-GENERAL

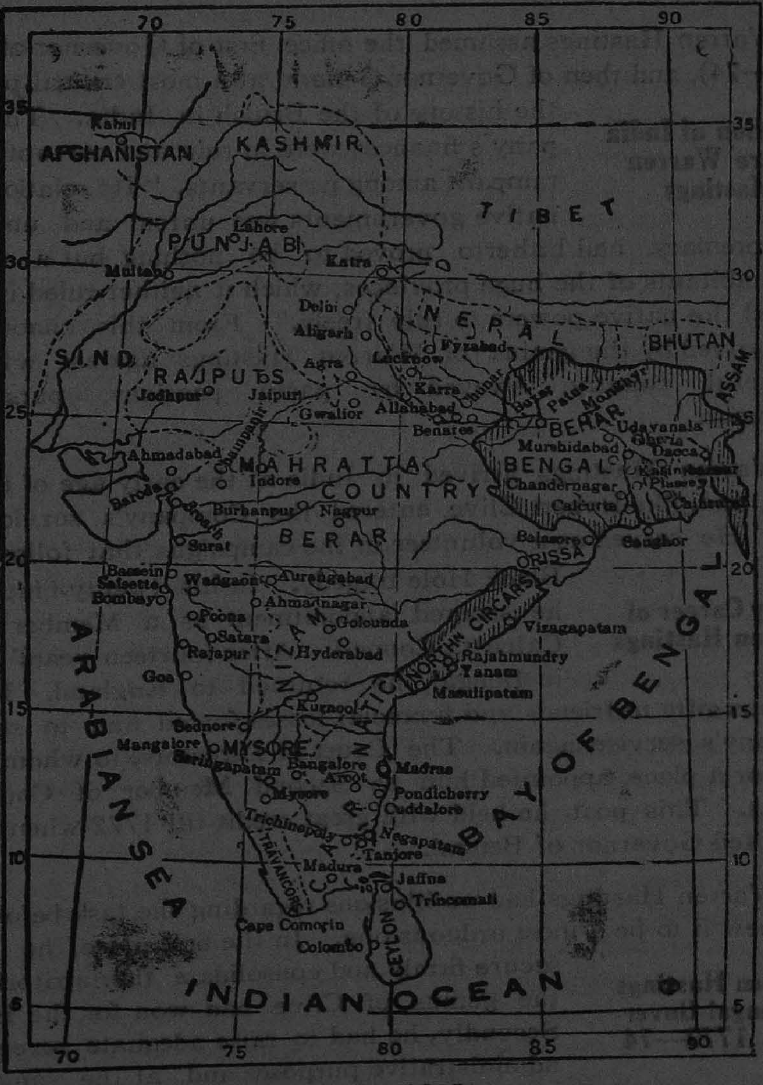
SECTION A. WARREN HASTINGS

Clive quitted India in 1767 and Warren Hastings came out as Governor of Bengal in 1772. In the interval, many events affecting the fortunes of the British in India, had taken place. We may briefly review them here. Clive's reforms in Bengal proved ineffective and the old corruption continued. His system of dual government was a failure from the outset and 'the abuses of private trade reached a greater height than ever.'

The Interval between Clive and Warren Hastings

In the south of India, the Madras Government interfered injudiciously in the affairs of Haidar Ali, the Sultan of Mysore, and was forced to a war with him. Who was this Haidar Ali? He was a military adventurer employed by the Hindu Raja of Mysore. When, in the middle of the eighteenth century, this state grew weak. Haidar Ali imprisoned the minister and became the *de facto* ruler of Mysore. The Marathas and the Nizam, afraid of the growing power of this upstart, entered into an alliance with the English to resist the aggressions of Haidar. The actual fighting was left to be done by the English, who under Colonel Smith, won the battles of Changama and Trincomali (1767). These English victories did not, however, deter Haidar Ali from carrying on his victorious raids throughout the Carnatic. The Madras Government mismanaged the military situation and shamefully accepted a treaty dictated by Haidar under the very walls of Madras. An

The first Mysore War



MAP OF INDIA
Showing the British Possessions about 1765 A.D.

important condition of the treaty was that each party bound itself to help the other in the event of attack (1769). Thus ended the First Mysore War.

Condition of India before Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings assumed the office, first of Governor of Bengal (1772—74), and then of Governor-General at a most critical period in the history of the British in India. The Company's finances were in ruin and corruption was rampant among its servants. "Its relation to the native governments was unreal and unhealthy. Its supremacy had hitherto proved to be nothing but a curse to the inhabitants of the huge provinces, which it neither ruled itself nor allowed the native powers to rule freely." From this chaos, order was evolved by the genius of Warren Hastings against whom an ungrateful country, swayed by party passions, pursued an indictment.

Early Career of Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings arrived in India at the early age of nineteen (1750), and, like Robert Clive, entered the Company's service as a clerk. He served as a volunteer in the campaigns that followed the Black Hole tragedy. In his twenty-ninth year, he secured appointment as a Member of the Calcutta Council. After fourteen years' service in Bengal, he returned to England. But his generous gifts to friends and financial losses forced him to seek the Company's service again. The Court of Directors, to whom he applied for a place, appointed him as Second Member of Council at Madras. This post he held with great credit till 1772 when he was appointed Governor of Bengal.

Warren Hastings as Bengal Governor, 1772—74

Warren Hastings had no illusions regarding the task before him. He knew it to be a most arduous one. In the first place, he had to secure firmly and consolidate the territories that the genius of Clive had won for the English. Secondly, he had to raise adequate revenue for administrative purposes and, at the same time, meet the demands of the Directors for larger dividends. Lastly, he had to find money for wars which he knew must inevitably occur in the near future.' His attempts to solve these problems, and his dealings with the Indian powers connected therewith, were subjected to severest condemnation by his personal enemies; but few will dissent from the view that "Hastings was the administrative organizer, as Clive had been the military founder, of our Indian Empire."

His Reforms

Immediately on assuming office, Warren Hastings applied himself to the task of administrative reform. The new Governor faithfully carried out the decision of the Court of Directors that the Company was 'to stand forth as Diwan.' *i.e.*, collect the revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, through the agency of their own servants. The whole of Bengal was divided into a number of districts each of which was placed in the charge of an English Collector who was responsible for the collection of revenue in his jurisdiction. For purposes of administrative convenience, Hastings transferred the revenue capital from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The judicial reforms of the Governor were equally noteworthy. He established two supreme courts, for criminal and civil cases at Calcutta under the supervision of the Supreme Council. Justice was rendered cheap to the suitor by the abolition of many vexatious fees and judge's perquisites. Indeed, Warren Hastings was the first to institute a clean and efficient system of justice in Bengal.

Foreign Policy

Hastings's dealings with the Indian powers were of a questionable character; but his motives were unselfish. He had but one ideal before him—that of serving the interests of the East India Company, and establishing on a secure basis the foundation of the British Empire in India. It will be remembered that Clive had handed over the districts of Kora and Allahabad to the Emperor Shah Alam in 1765 as an act of grace. The latter had now drifted into the hands of the Marathas, who under their new leader, Mahadji Sindhia, occupied Delhi. With the shadow of the Mughal Emperor, a puppet in the hands of the Marathas, and the Maratha horsemen hovering round about the frontier of Bengal, the position of the Company was seriously jeopardized. Warren Hastings, therefore, thought it prudent to resume the possession of those districts which were given back to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh in exchange for fifty lakhs of rupees. For the same reason, the Governor reduced the pension of Shah Alam, saving by this transaction alone, sixteen lakhs of rupees to the Company.

The Rohilla War 1773-74

Far more important was Hastings's decision to interfere in what is known as the Rohilla War. Far beyond Oudh, lay the land of the Rohillas, a fierce race of Pathan warriors, who established their sway in the land after subduing the effete Hindus. Between them and the Marathas there was no love lost and, when the

latter invaded their country in 1772, the Rohillas solicited the aid of the Nawab of Oudh who promised military help in return for forty lakhs of rupees. The combined forces of Oudh and Rohilkhand drove away the Marathas. The Nawab Vizier demanded the promised amount; but the Rohillas evaded payment. He, therefore, complained to Warren Hastings against the Rohillas who were accused of perfidy. The Bengal Governor took advantage of this situation and entered into a treaty with the Nawab. This was the famous Treaty of Benares, which formed, later, one of the main counts of indictment against Warren Hastings. According to this, the English were to help the Nawab of Oudh in driving the Rohillas out of their country in return for a sum of forty lakhs of rupees and a further recurring subsidy for the maintenance of a British force. The whole transaction was grossly immoral; but Hastings justified the treaty on the ground that it was essential, in the interests of the Company, to strengthen the nearest neighbour and chief ally of the Company against the powerful Marathas. In the war that followed, the Rohillas were defeated and they quitted the country to seek new settlements. Large parts of Rohilkhand were given to the Nawab Vizier and thus the Bengal frontier was secured against Maratha invasion.

The Regulating Act, 1773

The Rohilla War was the last act of Hastings as Governor of Bengal. In the next year, he was appointed Governor-General in virtue of the passing of Lord North's Regulating Act. For some years, the British Government was watching events in India with grave concern. The disorganisation of the Company's affairs in general and the wayward policy adopted by individual Governors at Madras and Bombay without any semblance of co-operation or co-ordination led to the investigation of the Company's affairs by various committees of Parliament. As a result, Lord North had an Act passed called the Regulating Act, which attempted to introduce an orderly system of administration in India. The Act created a Governor-General in Bengal to exercise control over the other Presidencies with a Council to help him. This Council was to consist of four members, each of them with voting power equal to that of the Governor-General except in the case of a tie. It also established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta consisting of a Chief Justice and three other judges. The names of the members of the First Council were mentioned in the Act. These were Richard Barwell, General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Philip Francis,

Sir Elijah Impey, a school fellow of Hastings, was appointed Chief Justice.

The inherent defects of Lord North's Act were seen in the practical working of the Council. Excepting Barwell, all the other Councillors were hostile to Warren Hastings and began to quarrel badly with the Governor-General. They condemned the Rohilla War, but yet did not shrink from pocketing the gains of it. The struggle between Hastings and the Councillors lasted for six years till 1780. By that time his enemies 'sickened, died and fled,' and thereafter the Governor-General was able to maintain his position generally.

The Struggle with the Council

The spectacle of the Governor-General being overruled in the Council was most unedifying, and Hastings had indeed fallen in public estimation. Advantage of his miserable position was taken by his private enemies, among whom Raja Nandkumar was the foremost. He was a wealthy Brahman of Calcutta and preferred openly before the Council charges of peculation and bribery against the Governor-General. One of the charges was that he took as a bribe, three and a half lakhs of rupees from the widow of Mir Jafar. The hostile Councillors were inclined to entertain the complaint and openly try Warren Hastings on the charges; but the latter indignantly refused to be tried by his colleagues and dissolved the Council. In the meanwhile, a Calcutta merchant had Nandkumar arrested on a charge of forgery. The Supreme Court presided over by Sir Elijah Impey tried him and awarded him the death sentence. It has been suggested by some that the Chief Justice was in collusion with Hastings and in order to get rid of a dangerous foe brought about Nandkumar's judicial murder. But modern research tends to show that this was not the case. Still, "hovever guilty Nandkumar may have been, the punishment of death was far too severe, and fine or imprisonment . . . . would have been the appropriate penalty.'

The Case of Raja Nandkumar

In spite of dark intrigue and calumny within the Council, Hastings possessed a cool and equable temper, which won for him splendid success in his foreign policy. We may first study his dealings with the Marathas and the events connected with what are known as the First and Second Maratha Wars. The Bombay Government stupidly and without reference to the Central Government at Calcutta, interfered in a dispute over the Peishwaship. After the death

The Maratha War

of Madhava Rao, the fourth Peishwa (1772), his brother, Narayana Rao, succeeded him. The latter was, however murdered by his uncle, Raghunath Rao, familiarly known as Raghoba. The widow of the murdered Narayana Rao gave birth to a posthumous child, and a keen contest for the Peishwaship arose between the adherents of the infant and Raghoba. In the struggle, Raghunath was defeated and driven cut of Poona. He fled to the English with whom he entered into a treaty—the Treaty of Surat (1775)—according to which the Bombay Government agreed to help Raghoba in getting the Peishwaship provided he gave to the English the harbour of Bassein and the island of Salsette.

The War

The Calcutta Council rightly condemned this action of the Bombay Government in interfering with the affairs of the Marathas and wanted to conclude another treaty—the Treaty of Purandhar—according to which the English were to abandon the cause of Raghoba and retain only Salsette. Hastings agreed with the Council in condemning the Treaty of Surat; but as the war had begun already, he desired to push it to a successful termination. An English force, led wretchedly, was surrounded within eighteen miles of Poona and it was forced to accept most humiliating terms. The Convention of Wargaon agreed to return to the Marathas all the territorial gains of Bombay after 1773 and furnish two hostages for the carrying out of this disgraceful Convention. When Warren Hastings heard of this he was prepared to stake everything to regain the lost prestige. He repudiated the Convention and sent a large army under General Goddard, who, dashing across the peninsula, marched into Gujarat, took its capital, Ahmadabad, and routed the Marathas. Another force under Captain Popham took the strong fortress of Gwalior, which was considered the key of Hindustan. These brilliant successes greatly atoned for the disgrace of Wargaon. In the end, peace was made with the Marathas by the Treaty of Salbai (May 1782) which restored the *status quo*. The English retained Salsette, while Raghoba, their *protege*, was sent away with a pension of Rs. 25,000 a month.

Second Mysore War 1780-84

Warren Hastings had to extricate the Madras Government in a similar manner from its difficulties with Haidar Ali of Mysore. That Government had been notoriously corrupt and effete for years and it offended by its tactlessness the Nizam who built up a powerful confederacy of all the Indian powers in the South including

Haidar. The diplomacy of Hastings detached the Nizam and a large body of the Maratha chiefs from the confederacy; but Haider Ali proved to be the most relentless foe of the English. In July 1780, he led one of the most ferocious of armies through the Pass of Changama and carried fire and sword through a great part of the Carnatic. The effete Madras Government was unable to check him even when he appeared before the walls of Madras, burning and pillaging the villages all round. A force under Col. Baille was cut to pieces at Perambakam while Munro of Buxar fame retreated from Conjeevaram to Madras, rousing the derision of the mob. At this juncture the foresight and cool courage of Hastings saved the honour of the British army. He sent Sir Eyre Coote to relieve Madras by sea. The latter engaged Haidar Ali at Porto Novo (July 1. 1781) and defeated him. A month later, he won another victory at Sholingur.

The English and The Dutch

While the war with Haidar was being pushed through with vigour, news reached India of the outbreak of hostilities between the English and the Dutch. The English forces in the south had therefore to engage in fresh activities. The Dutch settlements had to be taken. In November 1781, Negapatam was captured, and in January 1782 the English took possession of the Dutch harbour of Trincomali as well.

Haidar and the French

The fortunes of the English were at this stage to undergo a change. Haidar received information that a large French army was reaching India to help him. This encouraged him and he fought doggedly. His son, Tipu, cut up a force under Col. Braithwaite near Tanjore, while Haidar, effecting a junction with a French force landed by the French Admiral de Suffrein, wrested Cuddalore from the English. The main body of the French army under the famous Bussy landed at Cuddalore in April 1783; but Haidar Ali had died earlier. In the sea de Suffrein and Hughes fought many battles, in one of which the French recaptured Trincomali (August 1782).

The English and Tipu

After Haidar, Tipu carried on the war which was confined to the west coast. He captured Bednore (May 1783) and proceeded to invest Mangalore. But his activities were checked by Col. Fullerton who made a brilliant raid into Mysore, capturing Palghat and Coimbatore. He was about to invest Seringapatam, Tipu's capital, when he was asked by the Madras Government to desist from the operations. The war came to a sudden end by the Treaty

of Mangalore (March 1784). Both the parties agreed to return the places conquered by them. Warren Hastings did not like the terms very much but he had the satisfaction of leaving the British at peace in South India when he left India.

The Affairs of Raja Choit Singh

The Maratha and Mysore Wars had drained the treasury. The Company became practically bankrupt. Warren Hastings was therefore driven to the necessity of coercing rich and influential dependents of the Company to replenish the treasury. His first victim was Raja Chait Singh of Benares. He, no doubt, owed allegiance to the Company and by a treaty arrangement had to pay to the Company an annual tribute of twenty-two and a half lakhs of rupees. In 1778, Hastings not only demanded of him the usual tribute money but an additional present of five lakhs for war purposes. Evasion, Chait Singh knew, would be useless. He wanted time to pay the amount but it was not granted. Troops were ordered to march against him and eventually a larger sum than was originally demanded was collected. This infamous and iniquitous demand was again repeated. This time, the Raja protested, but very humbly against such exactions, involving the ruin of his state.

Warren Hastings's reply to the Raja's representation was to put him under arrest. This was too much for the long-suffering people of Benares. They rose in revolt and massacred the English officers and sepoys. Hastings himself had to fly to Chunar for safety. Chait Singh escaped in the confusion that followed and was given shelter at Gwalior. What followed may be briefly told. The estate of Chait Sigh was declared forfeit and it was given to his nephew, from whom the English took forty lakhs as tribute. The whole affair, in brief, was sordid and abominable, and no wonder, this formed one of the many counts of indictment against Warren Hastings.

The Coercion of the Begums of Oudh

On a par with the incident sketched above was Hastings' coercion of the Begums of Oudh. We may briefly state the circumstances leading to one of the most unchivalrous acts of the Governor-General. Asaf-ud-daula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, was in large arrears of tribute to the Company. When pressed for money, he pointed out that his mother and grandmother, the Begums, had huge hoards of wealth with which they were unwilling to part. In great need of money, Hastings induced the British Resident to put pressure on the Begums to extract part

of their alleged hoarded wealth. The Begums agreed to pay a large sum, provided no further demand for money was made on them. This was solemnly agreed to by Hastings and his Council. Yet, six years after (1781), on the request of Asaf-ud-daula, Hastings was determined to break his agreement with the Begums. "British detachments were marched to Fyzabad to support the Nawab's troops, and the eunuchs, who acted as stewards for the Begums, were forced by imprisonment, fetters, starvation, and the threat if not the actual infliction, of the lash, to part with the hoarded treasure."

Retirement and Impeachment of Hastings

Warren Hastings left the shores of India in February, 1785. In his native land he had no peace. His enemies were many and influential. They launched an elaborate attack on his entire Indian career. A few Members of Parliament, headed by Burke, the famous orator, demanded the examination of the papers connected with the administration of Warren Hastings. All these efforts ended in the impeachment of the ex-Governor-General by the Commons at the bar of the House of Lords. The trial began on February 13, 1788, and dragged on for seven years. Hastings was charged on twenty counts, including mal-administration, bribery, oppression and other fraudulent transactions. In these, the cases of Raja Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh loomed large. Burke, Fox and Sheridan, the distinguished orators of the day, and managers of the impeachment, had many unpleasant remarks to make against Warren Hastings. In the end a grateful House acquitted him on all the counts. The cost of his defence had ruined him and the Directors, therefore, granted him a life pension. He died in 1818 A.D. The following lines give us a well-balanced and impartial verdict in regard to the character and attainments of Warren Hastings: "The impeachment had its uses, for while it ended in the acquittal of the accused, it brought about the condemnation of the system under which Warren Hastings had been called upon to govern; and even if it revealed on his part some acts of impolitic and unjust severity and some instances of lax financial control, it also made known, as nothing else could have done, his splendid administrative qualities, his cool and dauntless courage, his marvellous equanimity under cruel provocation, and finally, his untiring efforts, at last crowned with success, to wrest victory from defeat; and in a time of world-wide disaster elsewhere, to leave the British inheritance in the East in extent and resources not less than he found it."

SECTION B

CORNWALLIS AND SIR JOHN SHORE

Warren Hastings was succeeded by John Macpherson, the senior Member of Council, who held office for a year and a half, till the arrival of the permanent Governor-General in 1786. This was Lord Cornwallis, a man of high character and great probity. A man with no personal ambition, his sole aim was to do his duty as quitely and unostentatiously as he could. Unlike his predecessor, Cornwallis had many advantages on his side, the most important of them being that a special Act of Parliament made him independent of his Council in emergencies. Three problems demanded attention: firstly, the status of the Company's civil servants, secondly, the land revenue settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and thirdly the reform of the judiciary. Before we consider these problems in detail and the Governor-General's foreign policy, especially his dealings with Tipu, a word is necessary about Pitt's India Bill (1784) which altered the relation between the Company and the Parliament a good deal.

Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General, 1786—93

North's Regulating Act, passed in 1773, having proved to be inadequate for the exercise by the Parliament of any effective control over the affairs of the East India Company, Prime Minister Pitt successfully passed in Parliment, in 1784, a new measure designed to check the vagaries of the Directors. A new Committee, known as the Board of Control, was formed, consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Secretary of State and four Privy Councillors. This Board was to control all civil and military matters. The resolutions or orders of this body were to be transmitted to India through a Secret Committee of the Directors, and the Court of Proprietors was deprived of any right to annul or suspend any resolution of the Directors approved of by the Board. This Act further strengthened the control of the Governor-General over the other Presidencies in all matters of war, revenue and diplomacy. One of the most important provisions of the Act was a declaration that "extension ofdominion in India is repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation."

Pitt's India Act of 1784

Shocking evils existed in the civil service of the Company. Officers, high and low, were hopelessly corrupt and it may be said that every officer had his own price. The salaries of officials were small but they were allowed handsome commissions on revenue collections. Besides, they were engaged in private trade

Reform of the Company's Service

which had been forbidden long ago. Lord Cornwallis put down corruption rigorously, and strictly forbade private trade, but he increased the salaries of the officials on a generous scale so that they might be above temptation. He also reorganised the service by separating the functions of the Collector and the Judge.

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793

In the days of the Mughals it was the custom to collect revenues from the ryots through the medium of rent-collectors, called the zamindars. Out of their collections they remitted to the treasury nine-tenths, reserving for themselves one-tenth. Soon this office became hereditary and in course of time the zamindar became responsible for the keeping of peace within his jurisdiction. Such was the system of land revenue collection when the English took the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In the time of Warren Hastings, the right to collect revenue was leased for five years to the highest bidder. This proved a failure as the leaseholders had offered to pay much more than they could collect. They fell into arrears to a great extent. Then, Hastings, on the advice of the Directors of the Company, attempted the system of annual leases, which proved to be worse than the previous experiment. Parliament, therefore, in 1784 directed the Court of Directors to frame 'permanent rules' for the raising of the land revenue. As soon as Lord Cornwallis reached India, he undertook, along with Sir John Shore, a Bengal civilian of great parts, a close and systematic study of the whole land revenue problem and reported, in 1793, to the home authorities in favour of a permanent settlement. His scheme was put into operation on March 22, 1793.

Views about the Settlement

The Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis has elicited both praise and censure. One party points out that under the scheme "population has increased, cultivation has been extended and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comfort of the people." Others point out that under the scheme "the inferior tenants derived no benefit" and that while the zamindar paid a fixed revenue to the state treasury, he got much more from the ryots whose interests were, more often than not, ignored. Again, it is stated that, as the revenues of Bengal have been fixed permanently, Madras and Bombay have to bear a heavier burden of taxation to maintain the costly Indian administration. "The financial loss caused by the Permanent Settlement," says V. A. Smith, "is enormous, and

cannot be less than 300 lakhs, or 30 millions of rupees a year, a burden which the rest of India has to bear."

Judicial Reforms

It has been seen already how Cornwallis separated from each other the judicial and executive functions of the Collector. On the foundation laid by Warren Hastings, he erected a sound system of civil and criminal justice by establishing a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. He also issued a new Code of Regulations 'to guide the officials of the new judicial system.'

The Mysore War, 1790-92

Although Lord Cornwallis came to India pledged to a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Indian states, he found it impossible to maintain this policy. To a certain extent Tipu of Mysore was responsible for the war that the Governor-General had to wage against him. The Mysore ruler was the most relentless of the foes of the Company. He had already sent envoys to the courts of Constantinople and Paris to seek support against the English in India and he entertained every hope that his scheme would succeed. In 1789, he attacked the territories of the Raja of Travancore, a staunch ally of the English. Cornwallis entered into a league with the Nizam and the Peishwas, and the united forces attacked Mysore from different quarters. On the English side the war was badly managed by the Madras Government; but later on, the Governor-General himself assumed command. In 1791, Cornwallis stormed Bangalore and, a few months after, advanced towards Seringapatam. Although Tipu was defeated, the English were forced to retreat. In January 1792, a third advance was made on Seringapatam. Tipu submitted and agreed to the terms of peace imposed on him.

Territorial Acquisition

According to the treaty, Tipu had to cede nearly half his dominions to his enemies. The English obtained valuable districts on the coast of Malabar, 'so fortunately situated that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for Tipu or any future sovereign of Mysore to disturb them;' parts of the Madura district including Dindigul constituting 'a substantial protection to the southern provinces;' and Baramahal 'which gives us the command of all the passes of the Ghats to the northward of the Kaveri'. The Marathas and the Nizam had their own share of the spoils. The huge indemnity of £ 3,000,000 which Tipu had to pay was divided equally among the English and their allies in the struggle.

Lord Cornwallis left the shores of India in October 1793 and he was succeeded, pending the arrival of a competent Governor-General from England by Sir John Shore, a distinguished Bengal civilian. He was steeped in the doctrine of non-intervention and was determined not to interfere in the affairs of the Indian princes and states, even under the most provoking circumstances. He spent his term in stabilising the arrangements made by his predecessor.

Sir John Shore, 1793-98

The precarious peace that Sir John Shore maintained for five years was but the calm before a storm. Ominous clouds were gathering in the political horizon. Although the Nizam and the Marathas fought on the side of the English in the Third Mysore war, no permanent friendship could exist between them. As a matter of fact, the Marathas were ready to pounce upon the Nizam the moment a favourable opportunity presented itself. In vain did the weak Nizam, in his dread of the Marathas, seek for a definite promise of protection both from Cornwallis and Shore. When the latter would not enter into any further negotiation with the Nizam, he naturally employed a French officer to train and discipline his troops.

The Affairs of the Indian States

As against the growing weakness of the Nizam the position of the Marathas was becoming formidable. The territories of the various Maratha chiefs together formed a compact whole stretching from Gujarat to Orissa, while in the south they closed round the dominions of the Nizam. The greatest Maratha chieftain was Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior, who, besides extensive territories, possessed a powerful army trained by De Boigne, 'a brilliant Savoyard of fortune.' He also held custody of the puppet Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, from whom he obtained royal warrants making the Peishwa and himself hereditary Vice-Regent and Deputy respectively. Armed with this authority, he proceeded to Poona and 'pursuaded the Peishwa that a serious mistake had been made in the late war in supporting the British power against Mysore and urged a closer connexion with Tipu.' Before any action could be taken, Mahadji Sindhia died in 1794, and Nana Farnavis, one of the most gifted of Maratha politicians, put himself at the head of affairs. He led the Maratha forces against the Nizam and defeated him in the battle of Kharda (March 1795). After this victory, the Maratha chiefs quarrelled with one another and 'there ensued such a tangled

The Maratha Confederacy

MAP OF INDIA

Showing the British possessions about 1792 A.D.

skein of treachery and intrigue as to be almost unparalleled even in eastern history.'

Shore's Retirement

Sir John Shore's apathy towards the Nizam, when the latter was attacked by the Marathas, on the plea of strict neutrality, was rightly condemned by his contemporaries. He showed a similar weakness when confronted by a mutiny of the Bengal civilians. He exhibited such lack of courage in dealing with these recalcitrants that he was superseded and in 1798, the Earl of Mornington was appointed to succeed him.

SECTION C. EXPANSION AND CONQUEST

(*a*) MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY OR LORD MORNINGTON (1798—1806)

Political Condition of India in 1798

Richard Colley Wellesley arrived at a critical stage in the history of the British in India. He was one of the greatest of Indian rulers and it has been said rightly that under his able guidance 'the British Empire *in* India was transformed into the British Empire *of* India. We have seen that in the days of Clive the Company emerged as king-makers in Bengal and in the Carnatic. Warren Hastings assumed virtual sovereignty of Bengal. and introduced a just and efficient system of administration, Cornwallis pursued the scheme of reform further, and, besides, acquired, as a result of the Third Mysore war, important places of vantage from which the Company's possession could be guarded effectively. Oudh and the Nizam had been reduced to vassalage. The English were, of course, supreme in the Carnatic from 1753. The Act of 1784 had stated expressly that the English did not desire any further extension of territory. This policy of non-intervention had been adhered to both in letter and spirit, by Sir John Shore. But his inactivity, though intelligible, was hardly desirable from the view-point of British prestige. The Nizam, a staunch ally of the British, had been attacked by the Marathas, the dreaded foes of the English, and yet Shore had stood away. The result was the growing influence of the French at the Nizam's court. Tipu, defeated in war and shorn in consequence of nearly half his dominions, was thirsting for revenge, and was canvassing actively the support of the French. The Marathas also played their game smartly enough and lost no time in drilling their soldiers after the European fashion with the help of able French officers. Thus both the open and potential enemies of the English were looking up to France for guidance and help. And what a France! It was a France where a huge political earthquake had

uprooted the ancient regime of the Bourbons and raised to power and fame Napoleon Bonaparte, a sworn enemy of England. It was to him that Tipu of Mysore looked for help and inspiration. Such was the condition of India when Wellesley assumed office.

The Fourth Mysore War

Wellesley turned to Mysore first. Its ruler was feverishly active, training his troops afresh, and expecting French help every day. As a matter of fact, a few French troops landed at Mangalore at the same time as Wellesley landed in Madras. Tipu also enrolled himself as a French citizen and even planted the Tree of Liberty at his capital, Seringapatam. Wellesley, as a first measure, resolved to compel the Nizam to enter into a treaty of subordinate alliance with the Company. This was the first of a series of 'subsidiary' alliances that were enforced by Wellesley on the Indian powers. By this treaty the Nizam undertook (*a*) to maintain a force to be drilled and trained by British officers, (*b*) to dismiss all other foreigners in his service, and (*c*) not to correspond with other Indian powers without the permission and knowledge of the English.

Defeat of Tipu

Having thus disabled the Nizam, the Governor-General demanded absolute submission from Tipu. The latter wasted time in useless correspondence in the hope that the long-expected, French help would arrive. But Wellesley was too quick for him. He ordered a formidable force under General Harris and Arthur Wellesley, the Governor-General's brother, to attack Mysore from the east, while a Bombay force invaded the country from the side of the Western Ghats. Tipu was twice defeated first by the western force and later on by Harris at Malvalli. In May 1799, the victorious troops stormed Seringapatam. Tipu fought bravely and died in a ditch.

Settlement of Mysore

In the settlement of the conquered territory, Wellesley displayed great moderation. Mysore, bounded by its old frontiers (*i.e.*, Central Mysore), was given to an infant representative of the Hindu Raja. Tipu's sons were given magnificent pensions. All the acquisitions of Haidar Ali and Tipu were divided between the Nizam and the Company. Thus the whole of the Carnatic and Tanjore came directly under British administration. "The general result was that Mysore was surrounded on all sides except the north by the British frontier and the Company held now continuous territory in the South from the Coast of Coromandel to Malabar."

The Political Ambition of Wellesley

The great ambition of Wellesley was to bring under British protection and surveillance as many Indian states as possible. The method he systematically adopted to realise this end was to enforce his 'subsidiary alliance' on states that had either grown weak or too feeble to resist his will. Thus the Raja of Tanjore resigned his administration to the English for an annuity of six lakhs of rupees. The Nawab of Surat was similarly pensioned off. The dual administration of the Carnatic had proved to be a curse. The Nawab was a worthless ruler and he was accused by Wellesley of having corresponded with Tipu. In the result the Company assumed the entire civil and military administration of the Carnatic, the Nawab receiving as his pension one-fifth of the revenue. In the north of India, Wellesley coerced the Nawab of Oudh to receive a large subsidiary force and pay a subsidy of one and a quarter million. Later on, he compelled both the Nizam and the Nawab of Oudh to assign fixed territory for the maintenance of the subsidiary forces. Thus Rohilkhand and other districts between the Ganges and the Jumna were obtained from the latter. These were highly objectionable methods, and Hastings had been impeached for similar offences. But Wellesley justified his own proceedings, particularly against Surat and Oudh, on grounds of political expediency.

Wellesley and the Marathas—The Treaty of Bassein, Dec. 1802

It was also the ambition of Wellesley to bring the Marathas as well within the net of his subsidiary system. The confusion in their political condition enabled him, in part, to realise his scheme. The acceptance of the subsidiary system by the Nizam was not liked by the Marathas, as thereby the latter could not plunder his territories. In March 1800, Nana Farnavis died and there was at once a struggle between Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar to get possession of the leadership at Poona. The Peishwa, Baji Rao II, favoured Sindhia. But Jaswant was powerful, and he defeated the united armies of the Peishwa and Sindhia at Poona, in October 1802. Utterly powerless amidst these intrigues, the Peishwa fled to Bassein and there sought British protection. Wellesley eagerly grasped the opportunity, and at once entered into a treaty of subsidiary alliance with him on the usual terms. Particularly galling to the other Maratha chiefs was a clause in the treaty 'that the claims of the Peishwa upon the Nizam and the Gaekwar of Baroda should be subject to British arbitration.'

The Third Maratha War. 1802-04

Baji Rao's acceptance of the humiliating treaty of Bassein was the primary cause of the Third Maratha War. The several Maratha chiefs, such as Sindhia, Holkar, and Bhonsla of Berar, agreed to sink their differences at this hour of peril and national shame. The Gaekwar kept aloof, and even the Peishwa is believed to have repented his hasty action. The leading figures in the impending struggle were Sindhia and Bhonsla of Berar. Their combined forces crossed the Narmada and were reconnoitring, when they were asked peremptorily by Wellesley to recross the Narmada. On their refusal, war was declared. 'The campaigns, which followed, are perhaps the most glorious in the history of the British arms in India.' They were waged mainly in the Deccan and Hindustan. The Deccan force was led by Sir Arthur Wellesley, while General Lake conducted operations in the north. Minor engagements took place in Gujarat and Orissa.

Principal Events

Sir Arthur captured Ahmadnagar in August 1803, and by quick movements defeated the enemy at Assaye, one of the most bloody and hotly contested battles in Indian history (September 1803). In November of the same year, Sindhia sustained another defeat at Argaon. His strongholds were captured one after another. General Lake in the north defeated the Maratha forces in two places, at Aligarh and Laswari, and succeeded in taking Delhi and Agra. In Gujarat the English forces took Broach and in Orissa, Cuttack was occupied by them.

Peace and Settlement of Territory

The peace of Deogaon with the Bhonsla and that of Sirji-Anjengaon with Sindhia brought this great war to a close. The latter gave to the English all the territory north of the Jumna including the overlordship of the cities of Delhi and Agra. The aged Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, now became the *protege* of the English. Orissa became definitely British and this acquisition linked up the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. To the Nizam was given Berar, which belonged to the Bhonsla. Besides, Sindhia and Bhonsla were compelled to accept the Treaty of Bassein and to receive British Residents at their courts.

The glory that had been attached rightly to these brilliant British victories was somewhat dimmed, when, in 1804 the British forces sustained disaster in an attempt to put down Holkar. He plundered

the territory of the Rajah of Jaipur, and Wellesley ordered a movement of forces against him. Col. Monson had to retreat from Rajputana after losing heavily, and General Lake failed miserably to capture the fortress of Bharatpur, although he employed the maximum force in assaulting it. These disasters were, however, retrieved by the English victories at Dig and Farruckabad (November 1804).

Later Disasters

The costly wars and large annexations of Wellesley, who, after his Mysore War, was known as Lord Mornington, and the military failure that attended his later efforts, were all distasteful to the Court of Directors, who sent out Lord Cornwallis again as Governor-General of India. Wellesley left India in 1805. After his retirement, he occupied many places of trust in England and lived up to the ripe old age of eighty-two.

Recall of Lord Wellesley

(*b*) Lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto

Lord Cornwallis of the Permanent Settlement fame was nearly sixty-seven years old when he came to India a second time as Governor-General. He came determined to do his utmost to bring about a reversal of the policy adopted by Lord Wellesley, but died within a few months of his arrival, at Ghazipur on October 5, 1805.

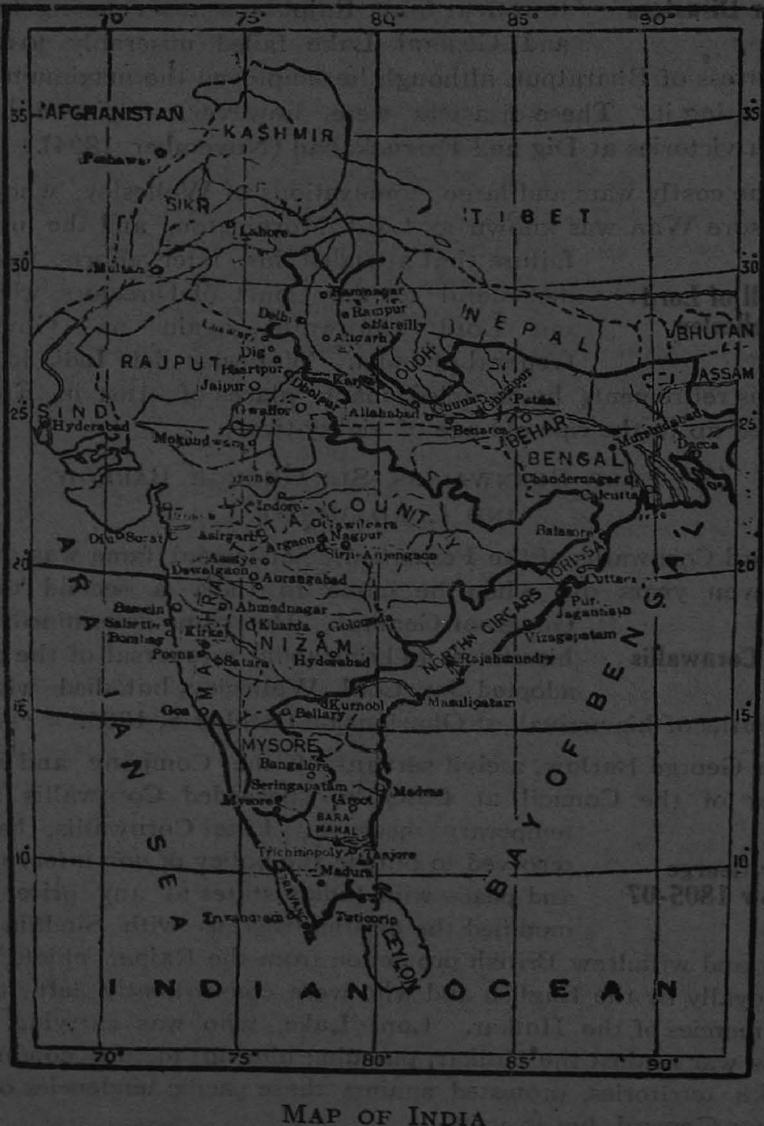
Lord Cornwallis

Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company and senior Member of the Council at Calcutta, succeeded Cornwallis as a temporary measure. Like Cornwallis, he too resolved to pursue the policy of non-intervention and peace with Indian states at any price. He modified the existing treaties with Sindhia and Holkar and withdrew British protection from the Rajput chiefs who stood loyally by the English and who were consequently left to the tender mercies of the Holkar. Lord Lake, who was carrying on a ruthless war against the Holkar, pursuing him up to the confines of the Sikh territories, protested against these pacific tendencies of the Governor-General, but in vain.

Sir George Barlow 1805-07

It was in his time that a serious mutiny of the sepoys took place at Vellore. The cause of the mutiny would appear to have been certain army orders involving innovations in dress, and in the manner of wearing the hair. The infuriated sepoys murdered their officers,

Vellore Mutiny



MAP OF INDIA

Showing the British Possessions about 1805 A.D.

and would have committed other excesses, but for the prompt suppression of the rebellion by the authorities.

Lord Minto 1807-13

Previous to his appointment as Governor-General, Lord Minto had been the President of the Board of control. As Sir Gilbert Elliot, he had taken a prominent part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He came to India with the usual instructions to follow a policy of non-intervention, but soon found it impossible to adhere strictly to the views of his employers. On the whole, his rule " was placid and unperturbed."

Central Indian Affairs

Bundelkhand, then under the control of the Company, was the scene of many disturbances in the early year of Lord Minto's administration. The Governor-General found it necessary to put them down. The turbulent Rajput chiefs in the neighbourhood were easily defeated, and the fortresses of Ajaigarh and Kalinjar were taken. The peace of the country was disturbed further by roving bands of robbers and adventurers known as the Pindaris. They attacked and plundered the lands of the Nizam and other English allies at their sweet will and pleasure. Lord Minto took some punitive action against them but, when he realised that such a measure was likely to create another Maratha war he desisted from taking further military steps. The task of suppressing the dangerous Pindaris was undertaken eventually by his successor.

Foreign Policy

It was in foreign diplomacy that Lord Minto distinguished himself. In his time, there was the fear of a French invasion of India and the Governor-General did much to allay that fear. He made it impossible for the French to dream of fresh conquests in this country, by conquering and annexing most of the French possessions, east of the Cape. With the help of such distinguished statesmen and civil servants as Mountstuart Elphinstone. John Malcolm, Charles Metcalfe and Thomas Munro he concluded favourable treaties with the rulers of the states through which any possible European conqueror by land would have to pass. Some notice of Lord Minto's activity in this direction is necessary.

We have read, in an earlier chapter, all about the Sikhs and their religion. The greatest of the Sikh chieftains was Ranjit Singh. Born in 1780 and brought up as a soldier from the age of twelve, Ranjit Singh soon brought under his control all the territories west

of the Sutlej. He also cast covetous glances on the lands east of that river which had belonged once to Sindhia but which passed into the hands of the British after the Maratha chieftain's defeat and submission. The situation for the English was dangerous. Should the Sikh ruler join the French ,the position of the English would be imperilled. Lord Minto, however, took the bold measure of sending Metcalfe to the court of the Sikh ruler to negotiate with him an offensive and defensive alliance against the French and to demand that Ranjit Singh should interfere in no way with the territory east of the Sutlej. The outcome of a long and protracted negotiation was the Treaty of Amritsar, in April 1809, which practically confined the activity of Ranjit Singh to the west of the river. The great Sikh honoured his promise not to interfere with the English till his death.

Minto and Ranjit Singh

In the course of Napoleonic aggression in Europe, it was feared that Napoleon would march against India through Persia. So, Lord Minto despatched John Malcolm to the Persian court at Teheran to conclude a treaty with the Shah of Persia. The Home Government had, however, anticipated Lord Minto and sent their own envoy to the Persian capital. The Shah promised to resist the passage of any European force through his country, and, in return, the English promised to help him with men and money in the event of any nation attacking his country. For a similar purpose, Minto sent Mountstuart Elphinstone to Kabul. But the envoy met the Amir at Peshawar who 'agreed to oppose the entry through Afghanistan of any force hostile to the English.' A third treaty was concluded with the Amirs of Sind who promised to exclude the French from their territory, Inoperative as these treaties became owing to the failure of Napoleon in his continental schemes. these transactions of Lord Minto serve to reflect his great diplomatic skill and political wisdom.

Embassy to Persia and Afghanistan

The brilliant diplomatic successes of Lord Minto have thrown into the shade his qualities as an efficient organizer of military expeditions. Thus in the course of his reign, he organized many naval expeditions that dispossessed France, and the countries temporarily in alliance with her, of all their colonies in the east. Chief among them were Goa of the Portuguese, Bourbon and Mauritius of the French and the Cape of Good Hope and Java of the Dutch.

Naval Enterprises

Madras and Minto

In the extreme south of India, Minto showed his controlling hand in the suppression of a rebellion in Travancore headed by the Raja's Dewan, one Velu Tambi, and the quelling of the Madras officers who rose in mutiny because certain perquisites such as 'tent contracts' had been stopped.

Renewal of Charter

The Company's Charter granted for twenty years ended in the year of Lord Minto's retirement. Parliament took up the question of granting a fresh Charter for another period of twenty years. The affairs of the Company were discussed at great length in both the Houses, and, while extending the Company's Charter, it was resolved to throw open the trade with India to all. One result of the Parliamentary debate was to admit missionaries and permit them to preach in India.

(c) Lord Hastings

Earl Moira, 1813-23

Earl Moira, better known by his title Lord Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto. Earlier in his life, he cultivated the warm, though very costly, friendship of King George IV and was recommended by him to the high office of Governor-General of India. He was fifty-nine years of age when he accepted the office and exhibited astonishing vigour and courage. "He never went to the hills, and never failed to be at his desk at four o'clock in the morning." Able and self-confident, Earl Moira had been an active critic of the policy pursued by Wellesley. He was, before coming to India, averse to conquests and annexations. Yet it was a strange fate that urged him on the very course which he had condemned in others.

War with Nepal, 1814-16

Moira's first action was against Nepal, a hill state extending 'over the whole hill region of the lower Himalayas from the Sutlej on the west to the frontier of Bhutan on the east,' a distance of about 700 miles. A race of Hindu Rajputs, known subsequently as the Gurkhas, had, in the eighteenth century, overthrown the native dynasty, and, mixing freely with the native population, had established their sway in the land. They began to make inroads into, and raid, the British territory on their southern frontier. When ordered to withdraw they refused, and Earl Moira declared war against them. His plan of campaign was perfect. The mountain state was to be attacked from four different points. The first campaign (1814) was a failure, General Gillespie of Java fame was defeated and killed. Three

other commanders were hopelessly incompetent, and violated the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. News of victory came only from one quarter the western force commanded by Ochterlony. Later on, under his military leadership, the British were able to gain some successes. Almora in Kumaon was occupied, and Ochterlony, operating from Ludhiana, compelled the Gurkha leader, Amar Singh, to give up the fort of Malaon and accept peace. According to the Treaty of Sagauli, March 1816, which brought this war to a close, the Gurkhas gave away to the English Garhwal and Kumaon, and most of the Terai, and agreed to receive a British Resident at their capital, Kathmandu. The value of this acquisition may be inferred from the fact that hill stations like Nainital and Simla are within the newly acquired tract. The early military failure of the English must be accounted for by the hilly nature of the country, the English ignorance of the topography of the region, the incompetency of the commanders, and the warlike nature of the enemies. It should be said to the credit of the Gurkhas that from 1816, they never gave cause to the English to bring about the revision of the treaty in any way

The Pindari War 1817

News of the earlier English military disasters in Nepal soon trickled down the country, and it encouraged the disorderly elements of the land to be the more active in their nefarious enterprises. The Gurkhas themselves had sent emissaries to the Maratha chieftains and the Pindaris. Lord Hastings had to deal next with the last named people. The Pindaris, as has been noticed already were a huge miscellaneous horde of vagabonds and robbers, the scum of the disbanded Mughal and Maratha armies. They were a source of terror to all civilised society. They used to roam about the country on horseback in hordes of hundreds and thousands, levying blackmail or plundering and pillaging. In the days of Lord Minto, their operations were confined to Central India, and he was forced to take some military action against them. Encouraged by the policy of non-intervention followed by successive Governors-General, these enemies of society ravaged the Northern Circars. This was too much for Hastings. Even the home authorities would not tolerate their depredations. The Governor-General resolved to annihilate the Pindari forces commanded by Amir Khan, a Pathan, Karim, and Chitu, a Hindu. The military preparations were on a huge scale, partly owing to the English fear that the Marathas were in secret sympathy with the robber chieftains. One half of the huge army (113,000 men and 300 guns), intended to operate in Hindustan, was

under the command of the Governor-General himself, while the other half was led by General Hislop. As a precautionary measure Sindhia was forced to accept a subsidiary treaty. The result of the operations may be told briefly. The Pindaris, in Malwa, their head-quarters and elsewhere, were easily surrounded, attacked and cut to pieces. Amir Khan thought it prudent to disband his well-trained army and accept the principality of Tonk. Karim, the other leader similarly craved for pardon. The Hindu leader, Chitu, fled to the jungles, and it is believed, was devoured by a tiger.

As Lord Hastings rightly anticipated, the Pindari War became merged in the last Maratha War. Since 1815, trouble had been brewing in the Maratha court at Poona. In July of that year, Baji Rao, the Peishwa, and his daring minister, Trimbakji, treacherously brought about the murder of the minister of the Gaekwar, who had gone to Poona under British protection. Under threat of war, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the British Resident at Poona, secured the arrest of Trimbakji and imposed upon the Peishwa a more rigorous subsidiary treaty. Appa Saheb, the Regent of the Raja of Nagpur, had also sought and obtained a subsidiary alliance with the English. In the course of the Pindari war, Sindhia, as we have seen, was coerced to accept a treaty. Thus there was apparent security when Hastings set out to deal with the Pindaris. But he was mistaken. All on a sudden the Peishwa, who was chafing at the new treaty rose up in arms, burnt the Residency and stirred up rebellion everywhere. Elphinstone promptly took action and defeated the Peishwa at Kirke. The latter then fled southwards and eluded capture for many months.

The Last Maratha War, 1817-18

Baji Rao's example was soon followed by Appa Saheb who gained the throne after murdering the young Raja of Nagpur and Holkar. The situation for the English became dangerous and by a desperate effort the English sepoys bravely defended the Sitabaldi Hills (November 1817) when attacked by Appa Saheb. The forces of Holkar were defeated at Mehidpur a month later.

The Nagpur Revolt

It became necessary to suppress the Maratha confederacy and by punishments and confiscations to maim its power to do mischief After the engagement at the Sitabaldi Hills, Appa Saheb of Nagpur escaped from the British custody and gathering together the remnants of his army, continued to give some trouble. In the end, he abandoned the struggle against the English and sought

Defeat and Fall of the Maratha Confederacy

protection under Ranjit Singh, 'who was allowed by the British government to give him an asylum which was practically a prison.' Baji Rao, the treacherous Peishwa, was finally pardoned, deprived of his office which was abolished, and given a generous pension. He settled ultimately at Bithur near Cawnpore. We shall hear of him again in connection with the great Indian Mutiny. The descendant of Sivaji, the nominal king and head of the Marathas, was given the little state of Satara where the English solemnly enthroned him. The dominions of Holkar and the Nagpur Raja were reduced greatly, and minors under British protection were placed on these two thrones. The various states of Rajputana 'accepted the position of feudatories to the paramount British Power.' The capture of the fort of Asirgarh in 1819 was the last act in this war. Thus ended the Maratha empire which, at one time bade fair to be the paramount power in India.

Reforms and Administration

In the midst of war and conquests, Hastings found time to introduce wholesome reforms in the administration of the country. Fortunately, he was assisted by brilliant subordinates, like Elphinstone and Munro, great scholars and diplomats. The former introduced a stable and equitable administration in the newly annexed territories and the latter established the ryotwari settlement of the land revenues of Madras. In Bengal, Hastings took measures to protect the ryots against the oppressions of the Zamindars. He also established vernacular schools at Calcutta for the benefit of the people. Lord Hastings quitted office in January 1823.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RULE OF THE COMPANY TO 1858.

SECTION A

AMHERST, BENTINCK, METCALFE: BURMESE WAR

Liberal Beginnings

The defeat and destruction of the Maratha confederacy by Lord Hastings closes one epoch of the conquest and annexation, and opens another of reform and constitutional development. There were indeed wars in the latter epoch, and they were also followed by the annexations of the Punjab and Burma; but the minds of the English administrators were dominated by a new and deeper responsibility for the welfare of the Indian peoples. "British greatness must be

founded upon Indian happiness"; "the increasing prosperity, union and self-respect of the long-divided peoples of India would be the only justification of British power"—these were the main ideas that guided their subsequent political action in India. It was in the time of Lord William Bentinck that these ideas expressed themselves in a remarkable manner. Sir Thomas Munro's famous minute of 1824 is clearly indicative of the attitude of the better minded English statesmen who, nurtured in the liberal school of politics, always held that India should not be governed in the interests of the conquerors. "We should look upon India," wrote Sir Thomas Munro, "not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn. That the desirable change contemplated may in some after age be effected in India, there is no cause for despair. Such a change was at one time in Britain itself at least as hopeless as it is here. When we reflect how much the character of nations has always been influenced by that of governments, and that some, once the most cultivated, have sunk into barbarism, while others formerly the rudest, have attained the highest point of civilisation, we shall see no reason to doubt that if we pursue steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves." The political sentiments contained in the above extract are admirable and it was in consonance with these that the work of political reform was undertaken in the period following Hastings's retirement.

Lord Amherst 1823-28

Owing to political events in England, Amherst could not arrive immediately after the retirement of Hastings. In the interval Mr. Adams, a senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General. His brief tenure is to be remembered for his generous application of government funds for the cause of national education and the stir he caused in Calcutta by banishing a recalcitrant journalist. Amherst arrived in India in August 1823. Within a few weeks of his taking office, he had to take strong military action against the Burmese. This and the capture of Bharatpur constitute the chief events of his reign.

The First Burmese War

About 1750, Alaungpaya, a Burman chief, established a dynasty in Burma, the members of which showed considerable vigour. His successors were very aggressive and subdued the whole of Burma and even conquered Assam (1822). In 1824, Burmese forces made incursions into Kachar (Cachar) and so came in conflict with the English. Earlier they had laid claim to the island of Shahpuri in the district of Chittagong. The Calcutta government had, from time to time, sent peaceful missions to the court at Ava, with a view to avoid any kind of clash with the Burmese; but their latest depredations could not be tolerated. In February 1824, a British force was sent to Assam.

Campaigns

The British plan was to capture Rangoon by sea and then proceed up the Irrawaddy to the capital. Agreeably to this, Sir Archibald Campbell, with the help of an armed flotilla, sailed up the Irrawaddy and captured Rangoon. He could do nothing more for the next few months owing to rains which converted the river 'from a navigable channel into a rushing torrent.' In the meanwhile, during the enforced activity of Campbell, the able Burmese General, Bundula, attempted an invasion of Bengal from the north-east. He also won a victory against the English at Ramoo. This led to a fresh plan of action by the English. Two expeditions were to be sent to Ava, one through Cachar and Manipur and the other through Arakan and thence up the higher valley of the Irrawaddy. Both these were costly failures. Salvation came only through the forces commanded by Campbell. After inexcusable delay, he proceeded up the river, defeated and killed Bundula at Donabew Prome and Pagan were occupied next. The force proceeded to Yandabo, only sixty miles from the capital. The king of Ava grew alarmed and signed a peace immediately at Yandabo (1826). He agreed to abandon all claim to Assam and Cachar, recognised the independence of Manipur, and ceded to the British the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, so valuable in protecting the north-eastern frontier against foreign aggression.

Capture of Bharatpur 1828

It will be remembered that Lord Lake once failed before Bharatpur. From that time it was believed that it was impregnable. Now an opportunity arose for the English to wipe out the disgrace of Lord Lake. An usurper set aside the rightful heir to Bharatpur and ruled in his own name. In January 1826, Lord Combermere stormed the fortress and brought fresh renown to British arms.

Lord Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, one of the best known Governors-General. He had acted previously as the Governor of Madras, but was recalled from that post as he had not dealt effectively with the Vellore Mutiny. Simple in habits and hating ostentation of any sort, Bentinck earned the gratitude and goodwill of the people of India. He had no military genius and took little interest in aggressive wars. He was a Liberal to the core and acted 'thoroughly in accord with the ideals that inspired the era of Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform.' He may be said to be an 'internal' ruler, caring more for the material and moral uplift of the people entrusted to his care than for tortuous diplomacy leading to expansion of territory.

Lord William Bentinck 1828—35

The Burmese War had impoverished the Company's treasury and the administration of the country became very costly, Indeed, the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy. Bentinck's first efforts were therefore directed to the improvement of the finances. Department after department was subjected to the strictest scrutiny. His shears first fell on the Civil Service. Members of this service were drawing extravagant salaries. The Governor-General cut them down. He also reduced the allowances of the army officials by fifty per cent. In Bengal he put an end to fraudulent transactions in land, and by rigorously collecting the revenue, brought about a permanent increment of about £300,000 a year. He increased the revenue, from opium by preventing the stuff grown in the Indian state of Malwa from competing in the market with the government opium, and levying a duty on all opium exported from that state. These measures were unpopular, especially his measures of retrenchment in the army. The European officials were fierce and even pursued a social boycott of the Governor-General. In spite of obloquy and insult, Bentinck maintained perfect equanimity of temper and, in the end triumphed.

Economic Reforms

The judicial reforms of Bentinck are noteworthy. He abolished some of the courts which were of no great utility to the public, such as the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit. He employed natives of the country largely in the Company's judicial service, extended their jurisdiction, and increased their salaries. Another boon for the litigant public was the permission given to them to use their vernacular instead of Persian in documents. He also began

Administrative Reforms

the settlement of the North-West Provinces as the newly ceded and conquered territories were then called.

Social Reforms

There was prevalent in India before Bentinck a custom known as *Sati* by which widows threw themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands and thus sought self-immolation. The Court of Directors wanted the Indian Government to put down such a cruel practice. But Lord Amherst feared to offend the religious scruples of the people and shrank from suppressing *Sati*. The glory and humanity of abolishing this barbarous and cruel custom belong to Lord William Bentinck who took courage in both hands and effectively put an end to it. The same consideration for the welfare of the people prompted the Governor-General to break up the abominable brotherhoods known as the Thugs. These, in the disguise of mendicants or pedlars, robbed and plundered or strangled innocent wayfarers. The educational policy of Bentinck was equally memorable. It was in his time that English was finally adopted as the chief medium of instruction in Indian colleges and institutions. This victory for 'English' as against the Oriental languages was due largely to the famous minute of Lord Macaulay who served in India as the Law Member of Council.

Foreign Affairs

Notwithstanding the pacific tendencies and the policy of non-intervention from which the Governor-General was determined not to swerve, he was compelled by force of circumstances to take the entire administration of the Mysore state and annex two smaller states, Cachar and Coorg. In the case of Mysore, the Raja proved himself incompetent and he was pensioned off. The two latter states were annexed because of maladministration, and it was done with the eager approval of the people who had suffered bitterly at the hands of tyrants.

The Charter of 1833

The time had come for a renewal of the Company's Charter. The Parliament appointed, as usual, a Select Committee to survey the political condition of India. This Committee presented an exhaustive report, which was remarkable for its extreme solicitude for the political welfare of the Indians. " It laid down the principle that the Indian Empire did not exist for the sake of Britian, but for the welfare of the Indian peoples" and " it proclaimed as an indisputable principle" the remarkable and noble doctrine that " the interests of the native subjects are to be consulted in preference

to those of Europeans, whenever the two come in competition." Following a debate on this report, the Act of 1833 was passed. According to this, the Company ceased to be a trading corporation. The title of the Governor-General was changed from the 'Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal' to 'the Governor-General of India,' thereby clearly emphasising the subordinate status and position of the provincial Governors. A fourth member for law was added to the Governor-General's Council, and he was directed to codify the Indian laws. The first holder of this office was Lord Macaulay famous for his essays on Clive and Warren Hastings and the Minute on Indian Education referred to already. Another noteworthy feature of this Act was a clause which laid down as a fundamental principle, "that no native of India or other subject of the king should be debarred by race, colour or religion from holding any office whatsoever under the British Raj," a principle reaffirmed by the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria. A further sound measure of the Act was the creation of a separate administration for Upper India. A fourth province was thus created known as the North-West Provinces, which are now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, 1835-36

Owing to failing health, Lord William Bentinck resigned and handed over charge of his office to Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1835. The latter had been Member of Council for nine years and had just been promoted to the rank of the Governor of the newly formed North-West Provinces. He rendered his name famous as Governor-General by the abolition of all restrictions on the press. The subject is too technical to be elaborated here. It is enough to note that Metcalfe was hailed by the people as the fittest man to succeed the great reformer, William Bentinck. But, the Court of Directors thought differently of him and of his measure liberating the press. He was not only not confirmed in his office, but 'the Governorship of Agra was reduced to a lower status when it was conferred upon him.' Lord Auckland was now nominated Governor-General by Lord Melbourne's Government a choice which did not please the Court of Directors.

SECTION B

AUCKLAND AND ELLENBOROUGH: AFGHANISTAN

Lord Auckland took charge on the 20th March 1836. He was a man of moderate abilities and had seen political service as First Lord of the Admiralty. He left England with high hopes and the best

intentions, and he assured the Directors that he 'looked with exultation at the opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures.' Auckland was doubtless an able officer, but as a statesman he was wanting in that essential quality of confidence in his own judgment. It was this diffidence that led him and his country into disaster. This reference is to the Afghan war which he commenced and the disaster which it brought to British arms. When he assumed the duties of the Governor-General, everything in India betokened peace. From the Sutlej to Cape Comorin not a cloud appeared in the political horizon. The Indian treasuries, thanks to the financial arrangements of Bentinck, were full. Yet this calm proved to be the presage of a terrible storm.

Lord Auckland, 1836-42

Afghanistan is a wild mountainous region in the north-west of India, beyond the land of the Punjab, then ruled and effectively controlled by Ranjit Singh. All the foreigners who attacked India by land came through that country. Indeed its masters had been the conquerors of India.

Afghanistan and its importance

It consists of three different provinces, Herat, Kabul and Khandahar, each with its own past history. Access to the country from India is 'by the passes made through the mountain walls by the rivers which flow to all points of the compass from the central watershed'. Its political history may be told briefly. After the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, his commander, Ahmed Shah Abdali (Durrani), united the whole country under his rule. He belonged to the Sadozai family, which was prolific in children. The result was, that after his death, there were many claimants to the Afghan throne and the country was torn asunder by civil wars among the Durranis. In 1826, one Dost Muhammad, belonging to the Barakzai family, usurped the throne and assumed the title of Amir. The dethroned Shah Shuja of the Sadozai line fled for British protection, and was living at Ludhiana.

Under normal circumstances, the British should have had little to do with the changing politics of Afghanistan. Dynasties rose and fell with lightning rapidity in the east, and it should have been no concern of Lord Auckland whether Shah Shuja ruled or Dost Muhammad did. But, since the days of Sir John Shore, the British entertained the fear of a French conquest of Hindustan

British Interest in Afghanistan

through Persia and Afghanistan. It was this fear that caused Lord Minto to send embassies to the courts of Teheran, Kabul and Ranjit Singh. When Shah Shuja had been the Amir, Elphinstone met him at Peshawar. But he was later driven out by Dost Muhammad who reigned at Kabul.

So long as the Punjab remained united under a powerful and independent ruler, the British had not much to fear, as the impact of any invasion from Afghanistan would fall on the land of the five rivers. Ranjit Singh died in 1839, retaining the esteem and friendship of the English till his last day. After him, signs were not wanting to indicate that the Sikh kingdom was beginning to disintegrate. The English in consequence, were growing nervous about the north-west frontier.

The Russian Bogey

What led to the direct and more immediate interference in the affairs of Afghanistan was Lord Auckland's fear—a fear shared by the ministry in England—that the Russians might seek to invade India through Persia and Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, a Persian army, possibly helped by the Russians, laid siege to Heart. This and the refusal of Dost Muhammad to entertain favourably a commercial treaty proposed by the English envoy, Alexander Burns, led to Auckland's determination to place the more friendly Shah Shuja on the Kabul throne. Thus the Governor-General 'took the fatal plunge'.

The March to Kabul

To realise his end, Auckland had to enlist the sympathy of the old Ranjit Singh; but the shrewd Sikh, while agreeing to the plan, refused to permit the British troops to march through his territory. An army, accompanied by Shah Shuja, was therefore sent through Sind by the Bolan Pass. Sir John Keane and Sir Willoughby Cotton commanded this main force. The Sikhs and Shah Shuja's son were to enter Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass. The main army advancing through the Bolan Pass, took Khandahar and stormed Ghazni. Dost Muhammad fled from Kabul and it was easy to instal Shah Shuja on the *Gadi*.

Tribal Revolt against the English

It soon became apparent that Shah Shuja was distrusted and disliked by the Afghans. He could not maintain his position for a single day without the support of the British bayonets. To his eternal discredit, Auckland preferred to allow a portion of the army to remain in Kabul. Although, by this time, Dost Muhammad

was sent away to Calcutta as a state prisoner, out-breaks occurred all over the country. The English were jeered at. This was not at all. There was absolutely no unanimity among the generals in regard to the course to be adopted. When Burns, the English envoy to relieve Macnaghton, arrived, his house was burnt and he himself was cut to pieces. The incompetent general, Elphinstone, quite unnerved, concluded a humiliating peace with the Afghans. He promised to set free Dost Muhammad, provided he and his troops were allowed to retreat. The treacherous Afghans agreed, but later on assassinated Macnaghton. Finally, the 16,000 men belonging to the English force were allowed to retreat, having previously given up their women and children as hostages. But the tribesmen followed them and cut them up. 'The retreat became a rout, the rout a massacre.' Only one individual, a Dr. Brydon, 'half dead with wounds and exhaustion' reached Jalalabad, to tell the sorry tale. The whole country was filled with shame when the full story of the Afghan disaster came to be known. Auckland was dazed, but steeled himself to send fresh reinforcements under General Pollock to relieve the English garrison at Jalalabad. In the meanwhile, the Governor-General laid down his office.

Lord Ellenborough, 1842-44

Lord Ellenborough arrived in Madras on the 21st of February 1842, and proceeded direct to Calcutta where he ascertained the details of the Afghan war. He issued a proclamation to the effect that the British Government would not 'imperil' its armies and with its armies the Indian Empire for the sake of Shah Shuja. This was gall and wormwood to brave commanders like Pollock and Nott, who were keen to avenge the injury inflicted on the British officers by the Afghans. When the shrewd Governor-General understood the temper of the forces, he wisely altered his plans and gave tacit permission to Pollock and Nott to proceed to Kabul. The former proceeded to Jalalabad and afforded the much needed support to the British forces besieged there; thence he proceeded to Kabul. defeating the Afghans at Jadalak and Tezin. At Kabul, there was little resistance; Shah Shuja had been assassinated earlier. The next day, General Nott joined him after razing to the ground the fortifications at Ghazni on the way (September 1842). The great bazaar at Kabul—Bala Hisrar—was blown up by gunpowder 'to fix a stigma upon the city,' and at the express orders of the vainglorious Ellenborough, they brought with them the gates of the tomb of Muhammad of Ghazni as a trophy of

war. These gates were supposed to be those of the temple of Somanath, which Muhammad of Ghazni had carried away in 1024 A. D. 'The gates, however, were a modern forgery' and they were promptly consigned to a lumber room in the Agra Fort. Now that Shah Shuja had been murdered by his own followers, the Indian Government released Dost Muhammad, who resumed his throne. Thus Auckland's Afghan blunder cost the English twenty millions sterling!

Conquest and Annexation of Sind, 1843

The desert province of Sind lies south of the Punjab and extends on both sides of the river Indus. The English had for many years cast longing eyes on the country governed by the Amirs. The government of Auckland had interferred in the affairs of the country and had forced upon the unwilling Amirs a subsidiary treaty. A British Resident was also stationed at the capital, Hyderabed. Lord Ellenborough, casting aside all legal, technical and moral considerations, resolved to annex the country to British India. Although no eal cause of quarrel existed, and the Amirs agreed to every one of the unfair exactions of the British, Ellenborough despatched a force under Sir Charles Napier, one of the most impulsive, hot-headed and combative generals. The unfortunate Amirs resolved upon fight rather than lose their national honour and rights. In the war that followed, the Amirs were defeated in two engagements at Miani and Daba Hyderabad, the capital of Sind, was plundered and Sir Charles Napier obtained loot to the extent of £70,000. Sind was annexed in 1843.

Gwalior Outbreak, 1843

In settling the affairs of Gwalior, Ellenborough displayed commendable zeal. Dault Rao Sindhia died in 1827, and in 1843 a minor was placed on the throne. But the young widow of his successor dismissed the Regent appointed by Ellenborough. Civil war was threatened in the country and the position became precarious owing to the existence of a huge army in Gwalior, out of all proportion to the needs of the state. When the army grew unmanageable and turbulent, the Governor-General set the army in action. The Gwalior forces were defeated in two engagements at Maharajpur and at Paniar. Thus the state was brought completely under the control of the Company.

Recall of Ellenborough

The better-minded English politicians hated thoroughly the policy of Ellenborough, especially his Sind transactions. The Court of Directors also shared the general view and 'they accused him of systematically subordinating the interests of the civil to those

of military service.' He was recalled and was succeeded by Lord Hardinge.

SECTION C. HARDINGE AND DALHOUSIE

The Court of Directors selected purposely a soldier and veteran to succeed Ellenbrough. Lord Hardinge was fifty-nine years of age when he landed in India and he had seen military service in the Peninsular War and had 'lost a hand at Liguz.' The one great event of his rule was the first Sikh War. We shall state briefly the causes of the struggle.

Lord Hardinge 1844-48

Ranjit Singh, that warm and close friend and ally of the English, died in 1839. He left no strong ruler to succeed him. His son, Sher Singh, did indeed maintain his position for three years, but it was only with the support of the British. He was, however, assassinated in 1842 and that was the signal for a series of revolutions and murders within the palace. In 1845, the Sikh army acknowledged Dulip Singh, a minor son of Ranjit Singh, as the ruler of the Punjab, with his mother, a young intriguing woman, as Regent But all real power passed into the hands of the Khalsa—the Central Council of the Sikh army. The Khalsa army became unmanageable, and for a time the Rani Regent coquetted with it. 'Though she courted and fawned upon the army, she dreaded its absolute and capricious power, and found her only hope of security in urging it on to challenge British supremacy.'

The Sikhs after Ranjit Singh

In December 1845, the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej. Hardinge was not unprepared for this struggle, and he immediately ordered a double movement of forces from Ambala and Ludhiana. Sir Hugh Gough, the English commander, met the Sikh forces first at Mudki. A pitched battle was fought here. Although the English were victorious their losses were very heavy. At Ferozeshah, another Sikh army was ready to offer battle. Once again, the Sikhs were defeated. This time they retreated across the Sutlej. The English forces could not go in pursuit as they had not received fresh reinforcements and ammunition from Delhi. Taking advantage of this, one division of the Sikh army recrossed the Sutlej and made a dash on Ludhiana. At Aliwal (January 1846) it received a check. The final battle was fought at Sobraon, one of the most decisive and hotly contested battles in the History of India. The bridge of boats,

The War

which the Khalsa army had thrown across the river, sank under the weight of the retreating Sikhs, and the English took terrible vengeance on them.

Treaty of Lahore

The victory at Sobraon enabled the British forces, accompanied by the Governor-General himself, to proceed to Lahore, and there dictate a peace which the Khalsa army could not afford to dispute. According to its terms all the lands on the British side of the Sutlej were ceded to the English, together with the Jullandur Doab (the land between the Sutlej and the Beas). The Sikhs were to pay an indemnity of half a million sterling in addition to the cession of Kashmir, which the English handed over to Golab Singh for one million sterling. Sir Henry Lawrence was to be stationed at Lahore as the British Resident.

Administration of the Punjab

It was agreed in the treaty that Dulip Singh should be maintained on his throne for a year with the help of a British force. This arrangement soon gave place to another, according to which a Council of Regency with Sir Henry Lawrence as President, was to maintain order and rule the country for eight years. The queen mother who murmured against these new provisions was promptly deported.

Retirement of Hardinge

Apart from the work of putting down the rebellious Sikhs, Hardinge introduced wholesome reforms in the Punjab states through the Council of Regency. He put down *Sati*, infanticide and such other inhuman practice prevalent in the north-west. He practised the strictest economy in military finance and even disbanded a whole division after the war with the Sikhs. He spent large sums of money on education and encouraged the plantation of tea on Government estates, thereby founding a new industry. For his victories in the Sikh war, he was created a viscount. In January 1848, he handed over charge to his successor, Lord Dalhousie.

Lord Dalhousie 1848—56

"The Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie," observes Ramsay Muir rightly, "is not only the last important stage, it is also the culmination of the marvellous history of the East India Company." His rule is crowded with events of considerable importance. He waged two great wars which ended in the annexation to the Indian empire of the Punjab and Lower Burma. Besides, he

brought under British control and administration, a large number of states previously ruled by independent princes. In the interval between conquests and annexation, the Governor-General was feverishly active in Europeanizing Indian society—an activity that was responsible partly for the great Indian Mutiny. Indeed, his eight years rule 'left more conspicuous results than that of any Governor-General since Wellesley.'

Second Sikh War, 1848—49

Within three months of Dalhousie's arrival, the whole of the Punjab was seething with discontent and rebellion. The administration of the Council of Regency was hated by the independence-loving Sikh Sardars. Unfortunately, Sir Henry Lawrence was in England and his successor did not realise the gravity of the situation in time to prevent a national revolt. Mulraj, the Sikh Governor of Multan, after murdering two British officers, proclaimed a religious war against the English who were unprepared for such an outburst. However thanks to the enterprise and initiative of one Herbert Edwards, the rebellious Governor was defeated and shut up in the Multan fort. But the revolt was spreading like wild fire. The Lahore Residency sent a force under Sher Singh to help Edwards; but he proved a traitor and joined the enemy. Operations therefore had to be commenced on a large scale. Lord Gough (earlier Sir Hugh Gough) crossed the Ravi with a large army and came in contact with the enemy at Ramnagar. Sher Singh, the leader of the Sikh insurgents, fought a drawn battle there. The English shifted their position to Chilianwala where a bloody encounter took place. The English loss in dead and wounded was so great that it alarmed the authorities in England who sent Sir Charles Napier to supersede Lord Gough. But before he arrived, the latter had retrieved his reputation by a brilliant victory over the Sikhs at Gujarat. This battle is known as the battle of the guns' on account of the intense bombardment of the Sikh lines. The surrender of Sikh chiefs followed in quick succession. Multan was stormed and its Governor surrendered. Dalhousie, on his own responsibility, issued a proclamation annexing the whole of the Punjab to the British territory. Dulip Singh, the young Maharaja, was given a generous pension. He embraced Christianity, and settled down as an English landlord in Norfolk. Dalhousie's next care was to provide a proper administration for the annexed territory. A Board of three Commissioners with Sir Henry Lawrence as President was constituted to look after the -ministration of the land. By this conquest, the frontiers of British

India were pushed forward to their natural limits, the base of the mountains of Afghanistan.

The Second Burmese War, 1852

The second war which Dalhousie waged during his time was the Burmese war. The reasons for the war stated by the Governor-General were that the Burmese Government had broken their treaty obligations with the English that they insulted the envoys sent to the court at Ava, and that they shot on the captain of a small frigate sent to remonstrate with the Burmese authorities at Rangoon. These charges were vague, and possibly could not bear honest scrutiny. Anyway, Dalhousie desired war and it was under taken. An English fleet appeared before Rangoon and stormed the great Pagoda. The Governor-General himself went to Rangoon, and under the express orders Prome was taken. With the capture of Pegu, the war came to a close. Dalhousie next announced the annexation of Pegu or Lower Burma to British territory. "Independent Burma was now shut off altogether from the sea and the whole coast line of the Bay of Bengal from Cape Comorin to the Malay Peninsula passed under British control."

The Doctrine of Lapse

In the time of Lord Dalhousie, a large part of India was covered by dependent states that had entered into subsidiary alliances with the English. These alliances were an abomination in the eyes of the Governor-General, and if he could, he would have annexed all the states to British India. He held, that the rulers of the subsidiary states wasted the country's resources and neglected grossly the internal administration. Whether the people liked it or not, British administration was to be extended to all such states. Therefore, in perfect concurrence with the home authorities, he evolved a new doctrine, called the Doctrine of Lapse, by which dependent states whose rulers died without heirs immediately lapsed to the paramount power. Some justification was sought to be found for this doctrine by an appeal to Mughal tradition. In the palmy days of the Mughals, rulers of states without children obtained the permission of the Mughal suzerain for adopting an heir, which was granted invariably on the payment of stipulated dues. Dalhousie argued that it was entirely left to the suzerain power to permit such an adoption or not. "I take occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion," wrote Dalhousie to the Court of Directors, "that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of

acquiring territory or revenue as may, from time to time, present themselves whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsover, or from the failure of heir natural, when the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindu Law." By the application of this doctrine, Dalhousie annexed several principalities.

The case of Satara

The first state to fall a victim to this questionable doctrine was Satara. According to the treaty of 1819, the British Government agreed to permit this state to be governed by Maharaja Chatrapati and his sons and heirs and successors in perpetuity. Yet, in 1848, Dalhousie not only explained away the clauses in the treaty pledging non-interference, but virtually annexed the state when the Raja died childless. The adoption he made on the death-bed was negatived (1849).

Karavli and Jhansi

Karavli was an ancient Rajput principality, and the axe of Dalhousie fell on it. But it was saved from annexation by the intervention of the Court of Directors "who drew a fierce distinction between a dependent principality and a protected ally." But Jhansi, in 1853, shared the fate of Satara.

Annexation of Nagpur 1853

The Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur died in 1853 without an heir, and according to a letter of Lord Dalhousie to the Court of Directors "had deliberately abstained from adopting an heir." This state was annexed and it became the Central Provinces. "Of the political advantage to Great Britain of this annexation," writes a recent authority "there could be no doubt. Nagpur comprised territory of 80,000 square miles with a population of 4,000,000, its possession gave us the finest cotton lands in India, and complete control of the land route from Calcutta to Bombay." After the annexation, British officers, at the instance of Dalhousie sold in public auction the jewels and the furniture of the royal house, which must have roused in the minds of the Marathas the bitterest feelings against the English.

Pension to the Ex-Peishwa

It will be remembered that after the abolition of the office of the Peishwa, Baji Rao, the last Maratha to bear that title, was pensioned away, and he was living near Cawnpore. On his death in 1853, Dalhousie refused to continue the pension to his adopted son, Nana Sahib.

The latter took terrible vengeance against the English in the great Indian Mutiny.

Berar Assigned

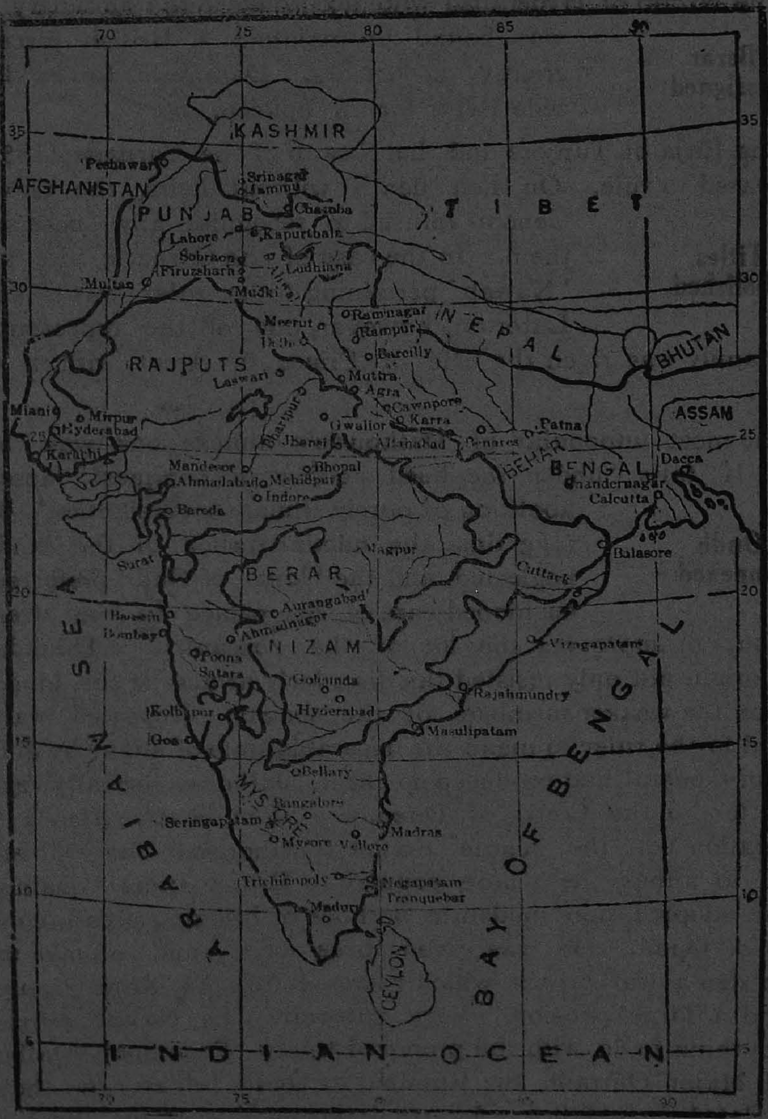
The Nizam of Hyderabad who, according to the subsidiary treaty, was bound to maintain a British force, was greatly in arrears. Dalhousie forced him to cede Berar for its upkeep.

Titles Abolished

The Raja of Tanjore and the Nawab of the Carnatic (1855) had long ceased to rule. On their death without heirs, the Governor-General refused to recognise any successors to them. In the case of the Carnatic, the title of 'Nawab' pertaining to its ruler was abolished. Later on, however, one of the representatives of the family was given the title of Prince of Arcot with a decent pension.

Oudh Annexed

The most unpopular of Dalhousie's annexations was that of Oudh. It falls 'under the head neither of conquest, lapse, nor abolition of purely titular sovereignties.' For a long time, the administration of the land was neglected, and the 'king' of Oudh preferred the cushioned ease of his palace to the strenuous endeavours of improving the lot of the peasantry. 'Talukdars of Rajput origin not only resisted the disorderly armies of the king, but preyed on the weaker members of the society. Repeated warnings conveyed to the ruler to mend the miserable state of affairs by different Governor-General had produced no effect. Dalhousie formally reported the matter to the Court of Directors. The latter, after a tardy consideration of the whole matter, authorised the Governor-General to annex the whole country to British India. Dalhousie, however, adopted more moderate methods of bringing pressure on the Nawab of Oudh. He was given three days' time to make up his mind to sign a draft treaty, which retained for the Nawab only his title and a large pension. Very naturally, the Nawab refused to have anything to do with the proposed treaty. Thereupon, Dalhousie ordered Major Outram, the Resident of Oudh, to carry out the long contemplated annexation. As usual on such occasions, the Nawab was given a liberal allowance and he ended his days at Calcutta. His appeals to the home authorities were in vain. Did the 'king of Oudh' deserve the fate that was meted to him? This question has been asked by historians and differently answered. The elaborate reports of Col. Sleeman and Outram leave little room for doubting that a condition of perfect anarchy prevailed in Oudh and that the



MAP OF INDIA
Showing the British Possessions about 1856 A. D

Government had ceased to function. But even the authors of these reports were against the annexation of Oudh. In view of the undoubted and unswerving loyalty of the Nawab of Oudh, a milder course should have been adopted. In sanctioning the peremptory annexation of the country, the home authorities were perhaps carried away by the exaggerated minutes despatched by the Governor-General. That this measure was very unpopular was clearly shown in the large part that Oudh played in the great Indian Mutiny.

Internal Reforms

The foregoing sketch of the principal events in the time of Dalhousie should not create the impression that the Governor-General came to India only to annex large tracts of land to British India. It is indeed true that his transactions with the Indian states and the policy he adopted towards them provoked the severe criticism of such well informed subordinates like Sir Henry Lawrence, Sleeman, Outram and Sir Charles Napier. But nothing but praise should be bestowed on the internal reforms he carried out. In many cases he only carried out measures begun earlier. Thus he paid great attention to the Ganges Canal. He inaugurated the electric telegraph in India. He introduced a uniform half-anna postage. He created a new Department to look after Public Works. He utilised his experience as President of the Board of Trade to plan a net-work of railways, and the first railway in India from Bombay to Thana was opened by him in 1853. A Department of Public Instruction was opened in each province and a Director-General was in charge of education. On the whole, Dalhousie's administration witnessed a great advance in the material and moral progress of the country. The testimony of Sir Richard Temple that, 'as an imperial administrator, he (Dalhousie) has never been surpassed and seldom equalled by any of the illustrious men whom England has sent forth to govern India' would appear to be a bit of an exaggeration. It conceals certain grave defects in him as an administrator, a fatal failure to understand the temper of the people whom he offended in many ways, and an inability to perceive that his subordinate officers might be right and could, at times, steer clear of all difficulties. While allowing for Dalhousie a place in the front rank among the Governors-General, it must not be forgotten that many measures undertaken in his regime contributed not a little to stir men's minds and create the impression that all was not well with the British sense of justice. The following excerpt attempts an impartial summary of Dalhousie's work :—

"More than any other man, he may be called the maker of modern India. The restless energy with which he carried out these changes unquestionably helped to pro-

duce the suspicion and unrest that made the mutiny possible, and it is characteristic of his powerful and masterful mind that he should never have stopped to ask himself whether he was not going too fast to carry with him the support of the timid and the old fashioned. That is the defect, but it is the defect of great qualities. He was a lonely man, so eaten up by zeal for great causes that he forgot the frailties of humanity. Therefore he had few friends; he won respect rather than love; and was never able to see his own work as it appeared in the eyes of lesser men. But if he disregarded other men's weakness, he had also no pity on his own. He wore himself out in the service of India; and returned to his own country only to die."

SECTION D. LORD CANNING

Lord Canning 1856-62

Lord Dalhousie was succeeded by Lord Canning. He had held various offices in his country, and at one time was Post-Master-General. Biographers of Canning seem to think that the new Governor-General 'possesssd the judicial rather than the administrative temperament.' He lacked those sterling qualities of daring resolution and personal force which characterised his predecessor. The history of Canning's administration is the history of the great Indian Mutiny and he himself seems to have perceived some premonitory symptoms of the great political cataclysm. At a banquet given in his honour in England, he said: "We must not forget that India was a country in which anything might happen however quiet things might seem," and again, "I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin!" Prophetic words these, although Britain was able to retain India, thanks to the splendid loyalty of the Sikhs and the fidelity of Dost Muhammad to treaty obligations!

Persian Inroads

To start with, Canning's attention was drawn to the aggressive designs of the Shah of Persia who attacked and occupied Herat, in violation of the treaty of 1814. A British expedition sent to the Persian Gulf captured Bushire, and inflicted defeats on the enemy. In 1857, Canning entered into a treaty with Dost Muhammad, the Afghan Amir, who promised to remain in terms of perfect friendship with the English. This was of great use in the time of the mutiny.

Widely different views are held by European writers regarding the causes of the mutiny. A few have held that it was a carefully organised conspiracy to overthrow the British in India. Sir James Outram, for a long time Resident in Oudh, thought that 'it was

the result of a Muhammadan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances.' The most important cause for the mutiny, however

Causes of the Mutiny

was the merciless application of the Doctrine of Lapse by Lord Dalhousie. His annexation of Oudh and the consequent unemployment caused to thousands of people who had been employed by the Indian ruler created profound discontent among a martial race. The refusal of the pension to Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao, the last Peishwa, only fanned the flame of political discontent. Stung to the quick, Nana used his hoarded wealth to send emissaries to different parts of North India and foment rebellion everywhere. The absorption of the Jhansi state had the effect of infuriating Laxmi Bai, the Rani of that state. When a woman of her status and standing in society, casting off *gosha*, came out, sword in hand, to avenge the wrong done to her, no wonder she had a large following. In their anxiety to protect the peasant from the severe exactions of the landlords, an Inam Commission at Bombay found it necessary to confiscate 20,000 estates, It is said that the Indians viewed with great suspicion the introduction of the railways and the telegraph. It requires a great stretch of imagination to believe that such useful innovations would not appeal to the Indian mind even in those 'unregenerate days.' But, when we remember that the earlier telegraph lines merely connected various military cantonments, we may well believe that these were hated. The prohibition of *Sati* and infanticide, instead of being opposed, was tolerated; but when laws were passed permitting a second marriage for widows and validating the inheritance of property by a convert to the Christian faith, the suspicions of the orthodox Hindus and Brahmans who formed a large part of the 'native' army in those days, were naturally roused and the word passed from mouth to mouth that Lord Canning was commissioned to convert India to Christianity. Social legislation is always offensive in a country like India filled with people of a variety of customs and manners, and particularly so at a time when state after state had been annexed to British India. There was again the story of the 'greased cartridges' which furnished the spark that set the gunpowder ablaze. The rumour spread with alarming rapidity that the new Enfield rifle was greased with the fat of the cow and the pig. To the Hindu the cow is sacred, and the Muhammadan considers swine as unclean. It seems to have been a fact that fact of one of these animals was used in the ammunition factories at Woolwich. The sepoys were aware of it, but

the officers, perhaps in perfect good faith, contradicted it, which only made matters worse. Other contributory causes for the mutiny were the growing indiscipline in the rank and file of the army, not checked by the officers, the undue preponderance of the 'natives' in the army, the reduction of the European officers to the point of danger, the growing practice of sending Indian troops to strange and distant countries like Afghanistan and China, which, according to the orthodox section of the army, involved loss of caste.

The Mutiny

It is not possible in this little book to trace in full the history of the great rebellion. Only the leading events can be mentioned. The storm burst on a calm Sunday evening on May 10, 1857, at Meerut, the largest military station in North India. The sepoys refused to touch the 'greased cartridges,' and after shooting dead their officers, and burning their houses, hastened off to Delhi which was easily captured by them as there was not a single British regiment quartered in the city. The few British officers who were guarding the huge magazine finding resistance hopeless, blew it up. The mutineers, in the meanwhile, burst into the old Mughal palace and proclaimed the eighty-year old Bahadur Shah, the old king of Delhi, Mughal Emperor of India. For the time being, this aged representative of the dynasty of Akbar and Aurangzib became the rallying point for all the malcontents.

The Rebellion Spread like Wild Fire

The momentum, thus given by the Meerut sepoys, soon gathered strength. All over Oudh, Rohilkhand and parts of Rajputana the spirit of revolt was up. At Lucknow, Benares and Cawnpore, the soldiers murdered their officers and their wives, and then headed off towards Delhi. The Rani of Jhansi took the lead in Bundelkhand and massacred all the Europeans found there. It was indeed fortunate for the British that, at this critical juncture, they retained the loyal allegiance of Dost Muhammad and the Sikhs of the Punjab. Had they joined the mutineers, the British cause in India would have fared worse. It was equally lucky that the Madras and Bombay forces did not take any part in the rebellion. The moving spirits of the revolt were Nana Sahib, the ex-Peishwa's adopted son, and Laxmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi. The mutiny centred chiefly round the three cities, Cawnpore Lucknow and Delhi.

The sepoys at Cawnpore mutinied on June 6th, 1857. Nana Sahib, who must have incited them, easily put himself as their leader.

At Cawnpore

The European inhabitants of the station were mostly women and children, and they took shelter in a building which they hastily put into defence. But the odds were against them. In the end, they implored Nana Sahib to give them safe conduct to Allahabad. The wily Maratha promised it; later on while they embarked in boats on the Ganges, he ordered a murderous fire to be opened on them. Few escaped. This savage butchery of innocent women and children by the wicked Nana and his lieutenant Tantia Topi, brought on them nothing but infamy. The avenging British force took nearly a month to proceed to Cawnpore.

At Lucknow also the sepoys mutinied, although they loved Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident. Anticipating trouble he had carefully

At Lucknow

fortified the Residency and had taken all the Europeans with him into it. The mad troops invested the Residency and in the course of the assault a chance shell wounded Sir Henry mortally. Still the brave band within the Residency struggled on for nearly three months, when they were relieved by Major Outram and Havelock. "The relieving force was itself invested by fresh swarms of rebels," and it was not until November that Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde) cut his way into Lucknow and effected the final deliverance of the garrison (November 16, 1857.)

After the silly proclamation of Bahadur Shah as the Mughal Emperor of India, the main objective of the British forces was to

At Delhi

recapture the city of Delhi. Thither converged also the Indian troops that mutinied. Although the British command was in the hands of Sir Archdale Wilson, Nicholson, sent from the Punjab by Sir John Lawrence, was the leader in the great assault on the city now bravely undertaken. The assault began just after the arrival of a heavy siege train. The Kashmir Gate was promptly blown in and four British columns entered the city, which fell after a week's desperate street fighting. Almost the first thing the English did was to take Bahadur Shah and his two sons as prisoners. One cruel act marred this otherwise splendid military feat of the English; "the princes were fistolled by Hodson, a brilliant cavalry leader, who had persuaded himself that they were guilty of the murder of Englishmen and women and that an attempt to rescue them would be made by

the mob before he could take them to a place of safe custody." The recapture of Delhi and the imprisonment of Bahadur Shah broke the back of the mutiny. The work of dispersing other mutinous bands was very easy.

After the capture of Delhi, operations had to be carried on on a large enough scale in Oudh where the mutiny was a popular revolt.

Reduction of Oudh

The minister and *de facto* ruler of Nepal, Jang Bahadur declaring himself to be on the side of the British, sent a large body of Gurkhas with the help of which Sir Colin Campbell reduced every fort that resisted. The operations were over in January 1859.

As has been stated already, the Rani of Jhansi, whose territory was annexed by Lord Dalhousie, was the chief inspirer of the revolt in Central India and Bundelkhand.

Central India and Bundelkhand

Tantia Topi, the general of Nana Sahib, joined the forces of the Rani. The latter dressed in male attire fought brilliantly for her cause. Sir Hugh Rose was in command of the Bombay forces and in conjunction with a Madras army under Whitlock, he fought his way to Central India, took Jhansi and dislodged the Rani and Tantia Topi from the fort of Gwalior, which they managed to capture from Sindhia. In the end, Rani Laxmi Bai died in the battle bravely fighting to the last. Sir Hugh Rose recognised that she was "the best and bravest" of the rebel leaders. Order was restored finally in the course of the year 1859.

Tantia Topi was hunted down by Sir Hugh Rose, and, in April 1859, he was captured and sent to the gallows. Nana Sahib, his infamous master, was hunted down from place to place till at last he was driven into the inhospitable jungles of the Tarai, fringing Nepal.

Fate of the Rebel Leaders

It is believed that he perished there. Bahadur Shah, the aged Mughal Emperor, was sent first to Calcutta as a state prisoner, and later on kept in inglorious confinement at Rangoon where he died in 1862, at the ripe old age of eighty-seven.

We may now state briefly the causes that brought the English efforts to a successful end. First and foremost was the undoubted loyalty of the Sikhs;

Causes for the English Success

secondly, the fidelity of Dost Muhammad, who had remained true to the treaty he had entered into with the English; thirdly, the complete aloofness of the Madras forces, which evinced no manner of interest in the mutiny and the

similar indifference of the Bombay army; fourthly, the great services of Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Sir Salar Jang of Hyderabad, who actively helped the English in the course of the two years' struggle; 'fifthly, the exceptional character of the men who were called upon to grapple with the mutiny at the outset—the Lawrences, Outram, Havelock, Nicholson, Neill and Edwards,' and lastly, the want of unity of purpose among the rebel leaders, whose interests were different, Nana Sahib desiring to re-establish the Maratha supremacy, the Muhammadans making one last, though feeble, effort to restore the old Mughal empire, and the Rani Laxmi Bai fighting for her own local interests.

The end of the Company

The news of the mutiny and the misery it caused to many homes in England created a revulsion of feeling against the East India Company, and influential politicians set about to move the Parliament to end the Company's rule in India. The Court of Directors, although it had no real control in the administration of India, protested against proposed scheme, and pointed out that "in Indian affairs the Government of the Crown had long possessed the deciding voice, and was thus in the fullest sense accountable for all that has been done and for all that has been forborne or omitted to be done." In a further note, the Directors of the Company pointed out that the direct administration of the Crown had brought about the loss of what became later the United States of America. These dignified protests were of no avail and a Conservative Cabinet successfully piloted a new Act in Parliament for the better government of India (August 1858).

The New Act

According to the new Act, the old President of the Board of Control was displaced by a Secretary of State for India assisted by a Council of fifteen, and responsible to the Parliament. It introduced no new changes. All existing Acts and provisions were to continue in force. The Act of 1858 "is a change of form rather than substance. Nevertheless it ends an epoch, the epoch of the making of the Indian Empire; and opens a new one, the epoch of the modern development of that Empire, and of its entry into the great comradeship of nations which is called the British Empire."

CHAPTER XV

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

SECTION A. FROM CANNING TO RIPON

"The great Mutiny ended the reign of the East India Company". It was felt that a trading corporation should not be allowed to rule a vast empire. Hence the Act of 1858 was passed by which the East India Company was abolished and the Government of India brought directly under the Crown. The Board of Control in England was replaced by the India Council consisting of fifteen members, eight of whom should have served in India. The Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors were abolished. The Crown was represented in Parliament by a Secretary of State for India. He was given a seat in the Cabinet and the India Council was to give him advice.

The Queen's Proclamation, 1858

In India, the Governor-General became the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He was made subordinate to the Secretary of State for India. The army was merged into the army of the Crown. To obviate trouble it was decided that one-third of the troops should be of British orign. A general pardon was given to all who had taken part in the mutiny except those who were actually guilty of murder. The Queen promised to respect the religions, creeds and customs of the people. The Indian Princes were assured in their rights, and all earlier treaties made with them were accepted by the Crown. The Queen also promised equal rights and privileges and impartial justice to all. Appointments under Government were thrown open to all irrespective of religion and caste, the necessary qualifications being the only test. Merit was to be taken into account. It was announced that there was to be no more extension of territories. The Doctrine of Lapse was withdrawn and Indian Princes were allowed to adopt heirs, if they did not have any. The country was thus pacified and a new era began. All these changes were announced by the Queen's Proclamation of November 1st, 1858. The concluding words were: "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." By such sentiments did the Queen win back the love of the people, and well was it that the new rule began under

such hopes and promises. Rightly, therefore, is the Queen's Proclamation regarded as the Magna Carta of India.

INDIA UNDER THE VICEROYS

Lord Canning 1858-62

Lord Canning the last Governor-General, became the first Viceroy of India under the new Act. Throughout the mutiny, he preserved a wonderful calmness and courage. He never allowed himself to be led away by anger or evil advice. Many had suffered during the mutiny, and a certain section of Englishmen clamoured for revenge. They called him "Clemency Canning" in derision, when they found him determined to be merciful and just. But that is now his best title to fame. He offered a free pardon to all who accepted British rule. The ringleaders in the rebellion were duly punished while those who helped the British in those trying times were rewarded with titles, gifts and pensions. The Viceroy toured all over Northern India, published the Queen's Proclamation, and so won the hearts of the people.

Reforms

Canning also found time to carry out some useful reforms. The mutiny, though it led to great anarchy and bloodshed, opened up ultimately a new era of peace and prosperity. It was reactionary in its causes, but revolutionary in its effects. It shook for a moment the empire's foundations, but it cleared the area for reconstruction and reform.

(*a*) Finance

The most pressing problem with which Canning had to deal was with regard to finance. The finances of the Government were very low, as the suppression of the mutiny had cost forty million sterling; and they had to spend ten million more per year to prevent the recurrence of such a rebellion. Financial experts like James Wilson and Samuel Laing were brought down from England to help the Government of India. By their advice, the military expenditure was reduced greatly while in other departments economy was enforced. The customs duties were revised. Export duties were abolished while duties on imports were reduced. A state paper currency was introduced. A license duty and an income-tax were also imposed. These fresh taxes and strict economy soon set right the finances of the Government.

(b) Army Reforms

The Indian army was reorganised completely. Each province had a separate unit. The sepoys numbered 135,000 while the British soldiers were 70,000 in number. The English were to be in sole charge of the artillery.

(c) Judicial Reforms

The Indian Penal Code originally framed by Lord Macaulay was adopted in 1860. In 1861, the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were also brought into operation. The Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalat were abolished, and High Courts were set up in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Universities were also established in the three Presidency towns. In 1859, a Rent Act was passed to protect the cultivators of Bengal from the oppression of the landlords. The tenants who held the same land for twelve years were made the owners of the same, and they could not be evicted. This Act led to great litigation.

(d) Legislative Reforms

Canning sowed the seeds of representative government. Provincial legislatures were set up to which Indians were admitted to make known to the Government what the people thought of it and its laws. The Viceroy's Council was enlarged, and each department was under a separate member so that work became easier. The Viceroy was the head of the Executive, with powers of supervision over all the departments.

(e) Other Events

In 1859-60, there were disputes in Bengal between the indigo planters and their tenants. The latter refused to work when the planters threatened to prosecute them. A Commission was appointed which brought to light the sufferring of the tenants. Thereupon Canning refused to support the planters and saw justice done to the tenants. In 1861, the rains failed and there was famine in Agra, the Punjab. Rajputana and Cutch. People died in large numbers. The Government did its best to help and relieve the people in their distress.

In 1862, Canning returned home in sorrow, for his wife had died in Calcutta. He was created an Earl for the good work he did in India. But he died soon after his arrival in England, and was buried in the Westminster Abbey.

Lord Elgin succeeded Canning as Viceroy, but he died of heart disease in 1863. The chief event of his time was the Sitana expedition. The fierce Afghan tribes, called the Wahabis, raided the north-west frontier. Troops were sent to put them down. But discontented

men in India roused the religious feelings of the tribes and made them destroy the English troops at the Ambala Pass. Fresh troops were then sent, and after much fighting the place was taken and the tribes were persuaded to be friendly to the English.

Lord Elgin, 1862-63

Lord Lawrence, 1869

Sir John Lawrence, who had been the Commissioner of the Punjab and who did good service to put down the mutiny, was chosen to succeed Lord Elgin.

War with Bhutan, 1864

Almost the first act of the new Viceroy was a war with Bhutan. It is a small and backward country on the Himalayas close to our eastern frontier. It was subject to Tibet. Frontier raids were common, and Ashley Aden was sent by the British Government to negotiate with its Government. But the English were insulted and forced to make a shameful treaty ceding Assam to the enemy. Hence, Sir John Lawrence declared war and, in the campaign that followed, the English occupied many Duars or passes. Finally, the Bhutanese made peace with the British ceding to the latter territory extending about 180 miles long and from twenty to thirty miles broad. This region is now dotted with fine tea gardens. The Bhutanese, thenceforth, have remained friendly to the English.

The Orissa Famine, 1866

In 1866, the rains failed, and famine followed. The country from Calcutta to Madras, all along the coast, and to a great extent in the interior, suffered much. "Shut up between pathless jungles and an impassable sea, the inhabitants were in the position of passengers in a ship without provisions." Over two million people died. The Government of Madras rendered good service to the people; but the Bengal Government failed to give relief to the sufferers. Communication was very difficult and relief could not be brought to the famine stricken area in time. Moreover, Sir John Lawrence was overruled by his Councillors who advised that relief should be left to private enterprise. It was almost too late when the Government interfered and gave free help to the sufferers.

India is essentially a land of farmers, who depend on the monsoons for their crops. If the rains fail or are delayed, or if there is too much of rain when it is not wanted, the crops fail and the farmers are ruined. The result is that famine follows. If the country had a net-work of roads and railways, relief can be brought to the

aflicted area in time and death from starvation and hunger avoided. But, down to our own days, India has lacked the means of quick transport and hence the enormous death-roll and great suffering. It was to the credit of Sir John Lawrence that he laid it as the policy of Government that in times of famine it should give free help to the people by starting public works such as roads, canals, etc.

Reforms

The Viceroy continued the work of pacification begun by Canning. Railways, telegraphs and irrigation works were extended greatly. Postal rates were lowered, and the pay of the Government officers raised. Lawrence was very sympathetic towards the Indians, and when the finances were low, he imposed the income-tax on all—Indians as well as Europeans—and thus showed his impartiality.

Afghan Policy

The Viceroy's Afghan policy roused criticism. The Amir, Dost Muhammad, died in 1863, and his heirs began to fight for the throne. Lawrence refused to interfere, but openly declared that he would support that prince who succeeded in getting the throne. In short he followed the policy of "non-interference" or "masterly inactivity." Finally, when Sher Ali became the Amir, the Viceroy recognized him, and gave him arms and money. In 1869, Lawrence laid down office and returned to England. He was then raised to the peerage. He died in 1879.

The Earl of Mayo 1869-72

Lord Mayo had been Chief Secretary for Ireland thrice before he became the Viceroy of India. Some doubts were expressed as to his fitness for this high position; but he rose equal to the occasion, and has been regarded since as an ideal Viceroy in all respects. He had a strong and attractive personality. His dignified presence and courtly manners endeared him to the people. He was specially successful in his dealings with the Indian Princes and nobles.

Reforms

Mayo introduced some important reforms in the administration of India. He created an Agricultural Department, revised the salt duties, and devised and enlarged many schemes of usefulness connected with the extension of roads, railways and canals. He also remodelled the Public Works Department. He took a personal interest in all things and saw that everything was done well.

But Mayo's most important reform was that of the Provincial Finance. Till his time, the provinces had to submit their budgets to the Government of India. They used to ask for greater grants in the hope of getting them by persistent agitation. What they saved had to be paid back to the Imperial Treasury. They had to collect the taxes in their areas but could not spend them as they liked. So there was no incentive for economy. Mayo set apart a portion of the land revenue and some other taxes as provincial revenues. The savings effected by the provinces should be theirs. This was an inducement to them for economy. This arrangement was tried at first for five years, and, as it proved successful, was later adopted permanently. Thus did Mayo introduce the Provincial Revenue System.

The Provincial Revenue System

Mayo removed the coldness with Afghanistan created under Sir John Lawrence. The Russians had been extending their influence on the Indian frontier and it was feared that they might attack British India through Afghanistan. Hence the friendship of the Amir was very necessary to prevent this danger. Mayo held a Durbar at Ambala in 1869 and the Amir, Sher Ali, was entertained grandly. It was then that the Viceroy's diplomatic skill and personal charm proved of immense value to the Government. Sher Ali became a friend, though no formal treaty was signed. Mayo promised "moral support to be followed by gift of money, arms and ammunition whenever the British Government deemed it desirable." At the same time, the Viceroy sent embassies to Russia and, as a result of the negotiations, the Oxus was recognised as the frontier of Afghanistan. Thus did Mayo secure the integrity of Afghanistan and free India from the Russian scare.

Afghanistan

The Raja of Alwar state ruled badly. Mayo interfered and had the Raja's power transferred to a Council. There was trouble in the smaller Rajput States also. Mayo felt that if the chiefs were well-educated, better rule would follow. So he had the Mayo College started at Ajmer for the benefit of the Indian Princes.

Mayo and the Protected States

The Queen's second son, the Duke of Edinburgh, visited India during 1869-70, and the Indian Princes showed their loyalty to the Crown. Mayo went on a tour to Burma and the Andamans. He wanted to reform the prisons in the latter place. While there, in 1872, he was assassinated by a fanatic.

Lord Mayo was succeeded by Lord Northbrook. The new Viceroy gave up the policy of "non-intervention" with regard to Afghanistan. In his time the Russian scare was great and so he adopted "a middle course" by promising help to the Amir if he stood in need of it. In return, he was not to allow the Russians any influence in his kingdom. But the Viceroy was not prepared for war. By his influence, Russia was made to respect Afghanistan as an independent state and give up her intentions against the Amir and the English.

Lord Northbrook 1872-76

In 1873-74 famine broke out in Bihar owing to the failure of the monsoon. The Government was very energetic and spent about eight crores of rupees in famine relief. Public works were started, tanks were dug, roads laid, and embankments for railways were put up. Thus work was provided for millions of people who otherwise would have had to starve. The Government also distributed grain freely to the sufferers.

In 1875, Lord Northbrook had to interfere in the affairs of the Indian state of Baroda. The Gaekwar, as the ruler of that state is called, did not rule well. The people suffered much and the British Resident there, Colonel Phayre by name exposed the ruler's wickedness. The Raja tried to poison the Resident whereupon a Commission was appointed to try the case. Though his guilt was not proved, the Government was satisfied as to the Raja's misconduct and inability to rule well. So he was deposed and a near kinsman of his was raised to be the Gaekwar. As the new Raja was a minor, Sir T. Madhava Rao, a Maratha statesman from Madras, was appointed as the Dewan, and Baroda has become since one of the most progressive of Indian states.

Affairs in Baroda

During 1875-76, the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) visited India. As a result of this visit better relations with the Indian states came to be established.

Lord Northbrook was a benevolent and sympathetic ruler. He abolished the income-tax, reduced the salt tax, abolished many of the export duties, and made large reductions in the import duties. He encouraged Local Self-Government in India and appointed Indians to high posts. He thus did much good to India. In 1876, he resigned and was succeeded by Lord Lytton.

Reforms

The second Lord Lytton was forty-five years old when he became the Viceroy of India in 1876. He was a "man of letters" and a diplomat, but he had little administrative experience. Yet he showed remarkable skill in the government of India. The first great event of his time was the Delhi Durbar held on January 1st, 1877. All the leading Princes and peoples of India were assembled there and Lytton proclaimed Queen Victoria as the "Empress of India." Many kind acts were shown by Government such as the increase of pensions and the release of prisoners. About 16,000 prisoners were set free. The presence of so many Princes and leaders from all over India was availed of by the Viceroy to discuss with them the general welfare of the country and the measure to be adopted for their good.

Lord Lytton, 1876–80

During 1876-78 the greater part of the Deccan was subject to one of the worst famines ever known to history. Bombay, Madras, parts of the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and the Punjab, besides the Indian states in the region, suffered. The area affected was about 2,57,000 square miles with a population of fifty-eight millions. The Government took effective steps to help the people. The Madras Government blundered by a too early interference with private trade. The result was over ten million sterling had to be spent with poor results. In Bombay the cost of famine relief was only four millions and comparatively more people was also saved. Hence the Viceroy went to Madras and supervised the famine relief personally. To prevent blunders in the future, he laid down the principles on which famine relief should be carried out. He also appointed the First Famine Commission. Its report was published in 1880. Lytton wanted to impose a fresh tax which should be utilised to form the Famine Fund, so that in times of famine the Government might spend out of it. But the authorities in England did not approve of this plan though they sent him money to relieve the distress in India.

Famine

Lytton also set right the finances of the country. He wanted to do justice to India in the matter of taxing the cotton goods. He wanted to abolish the sea customs. He was a Free Trader and so he removed import duties on many commodities. "He threw upon the trade of India to the world at large." He also set right the inequalities of the salt tax. Above all, he removed the barbarous salt customs

Finance

hedge that lay for thousands of miles between the Indian states and the British territory. The object of this was to prevent cheap untaxed salt being smuggled into British India. But the cost of defending the hedge was so high, and the existence of the hedge itself was so revolting to the feelings of the nation that Lytton had it abolished. The Viceroy also developed further the Provincial Revenue System started under Lord Mayo.

The Vernacular Press Act

It was the time of the Russo-Turkish war. The success of the Russians at the beginning of the war led to seditious writings in the Vernacular Press praising Russia and instigating people against the British Government. To prevent the spread of seditious ideas, Lytton wanted to limit the license given to the Vernacular Press. The Act was supported in Council and passed into law. Its object was to prevent the publication of seditious articles. Security was taken from the Vernacular Press to abstain from publishing seditious articles. The Act however, was soon misunderstood as being an attempt to prevent the growth of the Vernacular Press and thus deny means of education to the masses. This Act was repealed in 1882 and a fresh clause was added to the Penal Code (Section 124-A) which provided punishment for seditious writings. During the Great War, 1914-19, this section was put into force and the Vernacular Press was under restraint.

The Second Afghan War, 1878-79

Under Lytton, the Afghan policy was changed. It was the time of the Russo-Turkish War. The Russians had avowed openly their intention of invading India. Their initial success over Turkey in Europe made the British nervous for India. They gave up the policy of "non-intervention" and tried to secure the friendship of Afghanistan. The Amir, Sher Ali, should declare himself definitely either as a friend or a foe of the English. If it was the latter, war should be declared on him and the capacity of the Amir for mischief against the British and Indian interests should be destroyed. Russia should have no influence whatever in Afghanistan. The Amir objected to the English occupation of Quetta in 1876, for it gave them control of the Bolan Pass and Afghanistan could thus be easily invaded from the flank. Sher Ali therefore sought Russian help and received a Russian envoy at his court. The Viceroy called on the Amir to receive an English envoy. But Sir Neville Chamberlain, the English envoy, was not allowed to pass beyond Ali Masjid. This insult was the occasion for the declaration of war.

Three columns of troops were marched into Afghanistan at the same time. General Browne marched through the Khyber Pass; General Roberts entered Afghanistan by the Khurram Valley, while General Biddulph advanced from Quetta. Khandahar and Jalalabad were taken by the English. Sher Ali was baffiled by the wonderful celerity of the British. He did not get any help from his allies, the Russians, and so he fled to Balkh, where he died soon after. His son Yakub Khan then became the Amir. He made peace with the English by signing the Treaty of Gandamuk (May 1879).

The Second Afghan War thus came to an end. Khandahar and Jalalabad were restored to the Amir, whose foreign policy was thenceforth to be entirely under the control of the English. The latter were to keep all the Passes and their envoy was to reside at Kabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari became the Resident. Russian influence was thus destroyed and British influence established in Afghanistan.

The Afghan tribes disliked a British envoy at Kabul and so they rose in rebellion. The Residency was burnt and the British envoy and his men were murdered. The Amir was suspected to have had a hand in it. At any rate, he did not make any attempt to help the British at Kabul. To avenge this wrong, war was once again declared on Afghanistan. This is known generally as the Third Afghan War.

Renewal of War 1879-81

General Stewart occupied Khandahar, and General Roberts marched into Afghanistan and strengthened the army on the Khyber Pass. Kabul was taken on October 12, 1879. Yakub Khan was taken prisoner and sent to Calcutta. Meanwhile, Lord Lytton resigned owing to a change of Ministry in England which did not approve of his "forward policy." He was succeeded by Lord Ripon who was asked to bring the Afghan War to a close.

The capture of the Amir had roused the Afghan tribes. Ayub Khan, a son of Sher Ali, had already made himself master of Herat. He defeated General Burrows at Maiwaud. The defeated army then took shelter at Khandahar, which was also besieged. General Roberts marched to its rescue from Kabul and covered a distance of 318 miles in twenty-three days. Khandahar was relieved and a grandson of Dost Muhammad, Abdur Rahman by name, was placed on the throne. The English forces finally evacuated Afghanistan. They agreed to support and defend the Amir against his foreign enemies. Russian influence in Afghanistan was once for all destroyed. Thenceforth the country remained friendly to the English.

SECTION B. FROM RIPON TO CURZON

Lord Ripon 1880-84

No other Viceroy won the love of the people so deeply as Lord Ripon. He brought the Afghan War to a close, and the English troops were withdrawn finally from Afghanistan. His second act was the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act. This freed the Vernacular Press, and people felt satisfied that the Government would not hinder the growth of the vernaculars. Thirdly, in 1881, Ripon restored the state of Mysore to the old royal line. The young Maharaja then came of age. He had been brought up carefully as befitting his high position. Mysore had been ruled by the English as trustees during the previous fifty years, *i.e.*, since the time of Lord William Bentinck; and they did so in the interests of good government. The Rendition of Mysore, as this event is called, was a good thing, for it proved to the Indian Princes that the British would not take away their kingdoms as long as they ruled well and justly in the interests of the people. Fourthly, the first general Census of all India was taken in the time of Ripon. This was a very useful piece of work for much valuable information regarding the people and their welfare could thus be obtained. So the Census has been continued ever since, once in ten years.

But Ripon's chief claim to fame rests on his Local Self-Government Act. By this, District Boards and Local Boards were set up all over the country, and the people were to send their representatives to these bodies. The latter had control of the local roads, sanitation and public health. The Municipalities were given non-official Chairmen. By this Act, Ripon wanted to associate the Indians in the work of government and so give them better training in self-government. No wonder then that he won easily the love of the people.

The Ilbert Bill

Ripon also wanted to place the Europeans in India on a level with the Indians. For this, he wished to vest Indian Collectors or Magistrates with the power of trying Europeans guilty of any crime. A bill was brought in the Council known from the Member-in-charge as the Ilbert Bill. There was much opposition from the Europeans, which caused bitter racial feeling. However, a compromise was effected by which though the Indian Magistrates got the right of trying even European offenders, the latter were allowed the right of being heard by a jury, the majority of whom should be Europeans.

Under Ripon, the finances of the Government had improved greatly. There was a large increase of trade, and the Viceroy was able to reduce the salt tax. Helped by Sir W. W. Hunter, Lord Ripon laid down rules 'for the increase and improvement of Primary and Secondary Schools.' He thus showed his solicitude for the education of the people. He also improved the lot of the labourers working in factories by factory laws which insisted on the protection of dangerous machinery by fencing and limited the working hours of women and children. Factory Inspectors were also appointed to enforce these laws. In 1882, Indian troops were sent to Egypt where they rendered great help to the English. This was a practical proof of not only the loyalty of the Indians but also of the strength of the empire.

Other Reforms

In December 1884, Lord Ripon laid down office. Britain rewarded his services by creating him a Marquis. No viceroy of India is held in greater esteem by the Indian public than Lord Ripon. People in Madras have commemorated his name by erecting a statue for him on the Mount Road and by naming the Corporation Buildings after him.

Lord Dufferin 1884—88

Lord Dufferin was one of the most successful of the Indian Viceroys. He was well fitted for the task of "reforming and reconstructing under European superintendence the dilapidated fabric of an Oriental State." But he did not have any special knowledge of Indian affairs. He had a strong mind and could carry out great things with little cost or suffering. His personal gifts and special experience of Eastern countries (he had been ambassador to the court of Russia for some time) helped him much.

The Panjdeh Incident 1885

Russia was extending her territories in Central Asia and she wanted to secure Herat, the key to Afghanistan. The Russian general occupied Panjdeh and the Afghan troops sent against him were defeated. This alarmed the people both in India and in England. Preparations were made for a war against Russia. But the Amir disliked the presence of Europeans in his country. He had an interview with the Viceroy and secured enough money and arms to defend himself against the Russians. A Boundary Commission was then appointed, which gave the disputed territory to Russia and war was thus averted.

In 1886, the fort of Gwalior was restored to the Sindhia. Jhansi was obtained in its place. This restored the good feeling of Indians

towards the British. Queen Victoria completed the fiftieth year of her reign in 1887. So her Golden Jubilee, as this event was called, was celebrated all over the country with great pomp and rejoicing.

Tenancy acts

Between 1885 and 1887 Rent of Tenancy Acts were passed. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 fixed landholding by tenants and secured to them judicial rents. An objection was raised that the Government should not interfere with the "permanently settled area," but Dufferin would not yield. He said that his Act aimed at "putting into practice the unfulfilled intentions of Lord Cornwallis." Thus the defects of the Permanent Revenue Settlement were removed and relief was brought to the tenants of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

In 1886 a similar Act was passed for Oudh. There the tenants were in a minority. Free tenants were many. These were given the right of holding lands for seven years, and, when they had to quit, they were to be compensated for the improvements that they had made in their holdings. In 1887 a Rent Act was passed for the Punjab also. Here the tenants got only a limited guarantee. They were protected against eviction and the raising of rent. By such laws did Dufferin show his care for the agricultural labourers. But the question of the relation between landlord and tenant is very complicated, and any amount of legislation will not bring real relief to the latter unless and until the former happen to be broad-minded and sympathetic towards them. The tenants, too, should be attached to their masters, and not be very exacting in their demands.

The Third Burmese War, 1885

King Theebaw of Upper Burma was a cruel king. His accession was marked by the murder of many of his relations. He broke his treaty obligations with the English and made an alliance with the French. He heavily fined the English merchants in his country and had some of them arrested. So war was declared in 1885 and on October 27 the king surrendered himself to the English. Mandalay was occupied on the 28th October and Upper Burma was annexed to British rule by a proclamation on 1st January 1886. King Theebaw and his family were sent to Ratnagiri, in the Bombay Presidency, where they spent the rest of their lives.

Arakan and Tenasserin were annexed in 1826. Pegu was added in 1852, and Upper Burma in 1886. These were all united together to form the modern province of Burma, and a Lieutenant-Governor

was appointed in 1897 to rule over it. The British took five years after 1886 to restore order in the country. Bands of robbers roamed about, plundering and pillaging the land. At one time, the Government had to employ as many as 30,000 men to put them down. Finally, order was restored.

The Province of Burma

Another important event of Dufferin's time was the meeting of the Indian National Congress for the first time at Bombay in 1885. Every year a Congress of the prominent Indians began to meet at one of the Presidency towns and discuss the welfare of the country. This served as a means for the Government to know what the people thought of it and its work. So there was, at first official support or sympathy for the Congress. But, with the march of time, the policy of the Congress also has changed. They are no longer content to be mere "on-lookers" criticising the Government and pleading for reforms. They want not only a substantial share in the work of Government, but they claim equal rights and partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. As there is great diversity of opinion in the methods to be adopted to reach the goal, the Government of the day has been obliged to take strong steps "in the interests of law and order." But whatever the policy of the Congress and the attitude of the existing Government towards it may be, a Congress of all-India is a splendid idea and it deserves a high place in the future Government of India.

The Indian National Congress, 1885

Lord Lansdowne's period of office was on the whole very quiet. He established friendly relations with Afghanistan. The frontier difficulties were settled in a friendly spirit, thanks to the labours of Sir Henry Mortimer Durand. The Southern and Eastern boundaries, since known as the "Durand Line," were established. The Amir's subsidy was raised from twelve to eighteen lakhs of rupees. Quetta also was secured, and thus Lord Lansdowne "built on the foundations laid by Lord Lytton, and provided the means for guarding against attack and for sending up troops whenever required."

Lord Lansdowne, 1888-94

There were also two small frontier campaigns. In 1891–92 Hanza and Nagar, two forts in the Gilgit valley commanding the road to Chitral, were occupied by the English. In Manipur, on the borders of Assam, a disputed succession arose which led to British

interference. The Chief Commissioner of Assam and his followers were murdered treacherously. Troops were sent, and the ruler was deposed and hanged along with his friends. A boy was nominated as the new Raja of Manipur and a Political Agent was stationed there. Under British supervision many reforms were introduced and the state has since become prosperous. The Raja was vested with full powers in 1907.

Currency Reforms

The Viceroy had to set right the finances also. Indian officials had to remit to England in gold while the currency in India was silver. At first they had to pay in India only rupees eight per sovereign. Later, the currency depreciated and they had to pay at the rate of rupees ten per sovereign. This made them lose much. The Viceroy made an arrangement by which gold was accepted as legal tender and the exchange was fixed at rupees fifteen per sovereign. The result was that the value of silver decreased and counterfeit coins came into circulation. But financially speaking, the reform was a success, and there was a yearly surplus in the Government revenues. This exchange system continued till the Great War, when it was much disturbed.

Lord Elgin II 1894–98

The successor of Lord Lansdowne was Lord Elgin II the son of a former Viceroy of India. He remained in India as Viceroy for four years. The relations with Russia were settled favourably by a treat, and the boundary of the two empires was fixed in the lofty mountains of the Pamirs. The Afghan boundary question begun under Lansdowne was settled finally. The frontier line between Burma on one side and China and Siam on the other was also marked out. In 1895, there was trouble in Chitral owing to a disputed succession. The political Agent there was attacked and a detachment of a hundered Sikh soldiers was destroyed. So the Government sent an army there. The rebellion was put down and peace was restored.

The Tirah Campaign, 1897

In 1897, the Afridi clans rose in revolt and closed the Khyber Pass. Forty thousand troops were sent and the tribes were put down. But the trouble cannot be said to have been finally ended. The event is known in history as the Tirah campaign.

The rest of Elgin's period of office was occupied in helping the people during famine and plague. The famine of 1896–97 is

considered generally the most severe ever known to history. About seventy million people were afflicted. It was intense in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and parts of the Punjab also. The Government did its best to help the sufferers, but any help was bound to be insufficient as the affliction was immense. To add to the difficulties of the Government, plague broke out in Bombay in 1896, and the strong measures taken by Government to prevent its spread were misunderstood. Two young British officers employed on plague duty were killed. But the Government was not dismayed. Inoculation was tried, and, in most cases, it proved a success.

Internal affairs

Another difficulty of the Government was that an earthquake took place destroying a large part of Eastern India. Lord Elgin did his best to meet the situation. Never did any Viceroy fight against such adverse circumstances.

Earthquake

SECTION C. FROM CURZON TO READING

Lord Curzon was the youngest of the rulers of India excepting Lord Dalhousie. He was then not quite forty years old. He had acquired a vast knowledge of the Eastern countries, and knew in person many kings and nobles with whom he corresponded often. He had great powers of organisation, and his capacity was manifold. He personally supervised all work, and the chief complaint against him was that he set on foot "too many reforms in too short a time."

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, 1899-1905

(a) Afghanistan. In 1901 the Amir, Abdul Rahman, died and was succeeded by his son, Habibullah. The Viceroy kept on friendly terms with him and recognized him as king. Thence-forth the title of 'Majesty' was used in all correspondence with him. The subsidy of eighteen lakhs of rupees, agreed upon by Lord Lansdowne, was continued to be paid to him.

Foreign Affairs

(b) The North-West Frontier Province was formed in 1901. The Punjab was relieved of the frontier administration. The new province was placed under a Chief Commissioner who was directly responsible to the Viceroy.

(c) Frontier Policy. Frontier policy had divided politicians into two distinct camps. Though the safety of British India was their aim, they differed in the means to attain it. The bogey of a Russian invasion through Afghanistan was very strong throughout the nineteenth century, and steps had to be taken to safeguard India. One school, of which Sir John Lawrence was the chief exponent, advised "non-interference" in the affairs of Afghanistan, the buffer state. Friendship should be maintained with the Amir, whose hands should be strengthened by gifts of arms and money. British troops should be massed on the Indian frontier and kept ready for defence in case of an invasion. As the Afghans disliked the presence of Europeans within their territory, such an arrangement would satisfy their wishes, and all danger to India would disappear. Later events, in a way, showed that Sir John Lawrence was prudent in advocating this line of action.

But imperialists, Like Lord Lytton, wanted a mere 'forward' move. They said that India's "scientific frontier" lay in securing all the mountain passes through which alone she could be invaded. This would mean that British troops should occupy all the roads leading into India. The Amir would then be a 'subsidiary' ally, and, if the Russians invaded the land, both the British and Afghan troops should meet them on the frontier of Afghanistan beyond Herat or in the region of the Oxus and there drive them off. This would be possible only if Afghanistan was willing to become a 'protected state' like Hyderabad or Mysore. The chief characteristics of the two lines of policy with regard to Afghanistan was that the former exhibited signs of weakness while the latter was unduly aggressive.

It was to the credit of Lord Curzon that, imperialist as he was, he steered a middle course with regard to the frontier policy; and so was able to avoid frontier wars. He withdrew British troops from the tribal area and massed them on the frontier. A tribal militia was started and the necessary military training was also given to them. The tribes were promised help if they were attacked. They should thus defend their own country. They were definitely warned that punishment would follow if they proved treacherous. To be on the safe side, the Government improved the means of communication on the frontier, so that troops could be quickly rushed there in times of need. Thus did Curzon find a better solution for this mooted problem.

(d) The Cession of Berar. In 1902, the Viceroy had an interview with the Nizam and obtained the perpetual lease of Berar to the Bri-

tish Government. It was added to the Central Provinces. The Hyderabad contingent was merged in the Indian Army.

(*e*) *The Persian Gulf.* European powers such as France, Russia, Germany and Turkey, tried to secure a footing in the Persian Gulf. Curzon visited the place and secured the entire Gulf for the British. It was a wonderful achievement for the Viceroy, for thereby he removed all other foreign influence there, to the great benefit of India and Britain.

(*f*) *The Tibetan Expedition.* 1903-04. Friendly relations with Tibet had existed since the days of Warren Hastings. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the Dalai Lama received a Russian envoy at Lhasa, but refused to admit the British. He thus became unfriendly. Fear of Russia led to a declaration of war. In the campaign that followed, the British occupied Lhasa and the "mysterious city" was thus unveiled. It was a costly and useless expedition. The Lama fled and the Tibetans were made to pay tribute. Politically, they were made subordinate to China, Russian influence there having been destroyed; but soon they got their independence when China became a republic. The net result of the campaign was that much geographical knowledge of the hitherto unknown country of Tibet was obtained.

Internal Administration Lord Curzon's regime was remarkable for the many reforms that he carried on in the several branches of the administration.

Plague and Famine. Throughout his time plague troubled the land, and carried off a million people. In 1900 a severe famine broke out, and the hitherto favoured province of Gujarat also suffered. No less than six and a half million people were getting relief from Government at one time. To prevent disease and preserve the health of the nation, the Government paid greater attention to sanitation and improvements in drainage and housing.

Currency Reforms. Curzon made gold legal tender in the country, and created a Gold Reserve Fund. He ordered that fifteen rupees should be accepted as equal to a sovereign.

Agrarian Reforms The Viceroy exerted himself most on behalf of the agriculturists.

The Suspension and Remission Bill. As India is subject to frequent famines, farmers are unable to pay the land-tax during such times. Hence Curzon passed the Suspension and Remission Bill by

which Collectors of Districts were given power to suspend or remit the revenues in times of distress. This is a great relief to the farmers.

The Land Alienation Act, 1900. This was an attempt to protect the simple Punjab Cultivators from being dispossessed wholesale by the money-lenders. By this Act the money-lenders were prevented from buying the lands of the tenants or holding them on mortgage for any period exceeding twenty years.

Agricultural or *Co-operative Banks* were set up all over India to encourage self-help among the peasants as also to enable them to get loans for purposes of cultivation at a low rate of interest.

In 1904 the Commerce and Industries Department of the Government of India was created, and a new member was added to the Viceroy's Council to be in charge of that department.

An Agricultural Research Institute was also created. Its work is to find out by experiment how better crops can be obtained, better seeds can be procured, and how the fertility of the soil can best be preserved and improved with a view to having a rich yield from the land.

Educational Reforms

Lord Curzon also devoted much attention to the cause of education. In 1904 the Indian Universities Act was passed. The Department of Education was over-hauled completely. Large grants were given for the improvement and extension of various forms of education—primary, secondary and collegiate—and steady advance on the right lines was secured. With regard to the Universities, he had the strength of the Senates reduced. The Syndicates were remodelled and power was placed in the hands of the Government of India to affiliate or disaffiliate colleges. The Act also provided for the official inspection of the affiliated colleges. But the Act provoked great discontent as it led to too much Government interference with too little freedom for Universities.

Other Reforms

The Viceroy also provided for the following :—(*a*) Agricultural education ; (*b*) restoration of ancient monuments ; (*c*) establishment of a Board of Scientific Advice ; (*d*) a Police Commission to improve the morale of the force and make it attractive for the better class of men ; and (*e*) efficiency of the Indian army—this was secured by the reorganisation of the transport service, re-armament of the troops and the strengthening of the artillery.

In January 1901, Queen Victoria died and was succeeded by her son, Edward VII. In 1903, the Viceroy held a Durbar in Delhi to proclaim his accession.

The Partition of Bengal

In 1905, Lord Curzon divided Bengal into two provinces. The old province was too unwieldy and the eastern part of it suffered some neglect. Hence Eastern Bengal and Assam were united together into a separate province and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. There was great opposition from the people of Bengal who felt that their national unity was destroyed by this separation. The Bengalese are among the most emotional people in the world. They carried on a vigorous agitation against the partition and soon won the sympathy of all India. A sense of Indian national unity was fostered by this. Lord Curzon's remedy for the better government of Bengal turned out the highly indiscreet, and so, in 1911, at the time of the Great Durbar in Delhi, King George V announced the remodelling of the province. The new province of Bihar and Orissa was created, Bengal became a united province while Assam was separated and placed under a Chief Commissioner.

Military Reforms and the Resignation of Curzon 1909

In April 1904, Lord Curzon paid a short visit to England while Lord Ampthill, the Governor of Madras acted as Viceroy. Lord Curzon's period of office was extended for a further term and so he came back to India. Lord Kitchener was then the military member of the Viceroy's Council. Disputes arose between the Viceroy and the Commander-in Chief regarding the position of the military member and the organisation of the army. When the matter was referred to the Home Government, Lord Kitchener's view was supported, and so Lord Curzon resigned; for he felt that the civil power was superseded by the military, when the Viceroy's views were not accepted. He was succeeded in the Viceroyalty by the second Lord Minto.

Lord Minto 1905—10

The chief features in the term of Lord Minto were (*a*) the abolition of the opium trade with China, (*b*) the spread of anarchist crimes, and (*c*) the passing of the Morley-Minto Reforms. In 1907 the opium trade with China was discontinued. The Government lost by it an annual export duty amounting to about ten crores of rupees. It was the work of the Temperance Society, and an improvement in manners and morals was expected to result from it. The abolition was considered an act of national righteousness.

Anarchist Crimes

From 1905 crime was on the increase in India and in 1909 it reached its zenith. The causes were many. The partition of Bengal had roused the national feelings of the Bengalese and led them to agitate for its annulment. There were discontented young men with their own grievances. The defeat of Russia by Japan gave the impression that Europeans were no longer invincible. Curzon's Unversities Act of 1904 also provoked discontent. Certain newspapers went on publishing seditious articles inciting people to violence. The result was widespread discontent and large increase in crime. Bomb throwing became common and some officers were shot down. So Government had to adopt coercive measures. The freedom of the press was restrained and seditious articles were prevented from being published. Many leaders were exiled, some were imprisoned, while those guilty of murder were hanged. To allay discontent and ensure law and order in the land became a pressing problem to the Government.

The Morley-Minto Reforms 1909

Acting on the principle that if more Indians were associated in the work of Governmeat, much of the trouble in the country would cease, both the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy introduced a Reform Bill in 1909. It is called after them the Morley-Minto Reforms. The chief administrative changes that were introduced by them were:—Two Indians were appointed for the first time to the India Council in London. An Indian Member was added to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Provincial Executive Councils were enlarged from two to four members, and Indians were admitted to the local Executive Councils. With regard to the legislature, the strength of the Imperial Legislative Council was increased from twenty-one to sixty members; twenty-seven of these were to be elected. The members of the Executive Council should also sit in the legislature while passing laws. The strength of the provincial Legislatures were similarly increased to a maximum of fifty members, and the elective system was also observed in part here.

Class Representation

A special feature of the Reforms was the principle of class representation that was introduced. Minority communities and special bodies like the Muslims, Chambers of Commerce, Europeans, Universities, Municipalities and Landholders got separate representation. Lord Curzon wanted that greater safeguards should be given to the illiterate masses who should be helped to lead a happier life. He felt that Parliamentary Government might fail to

do this for the people. However, by the Act of 1909, the Legislative Councils were given the right to discuss the annual budgets and other matters of public interest.

In 1910, Lord Minto retired and was succeeded by Lord Hardinge. King Edward VII died in the same year, and his son, George V, was proclaimed Emperor of India.

LORD HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, 1910-16

Lord Hardinge was the grandson of a former Governor-General of India. His rule was made memorable for ever by the visit of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, who stayed in India from December 2, 1911, to January 10, 1912. A great Durbar was held in Delhi on December 12, 1911, when, surrounded by all the Princes and peoples of the land, their Majesties were crowned in all solemnity as the Emperor and Empress of India. "The intense and genuine loyalty" of the nation deeply moved Their Majesties who announced some boons to India. The partition of Bengal was annulled, as mentioned already. An annual grant of fifty lakhs of rupees was given for the spread of education in the country. Indian sepoys were spurred to gallant action in the field by throwing open to them the Victoria Cross, a distinction for bravery, reserved till then for European soldiers. Above all, His Majesty announced to the surprise of all assembled at the Durbar that thenceforth Delhi would be the capital of India instead of Calcutta. The Government has since spent over twelve crores of rupees in building New Delhi, the modern capital. Thus was inaugurated the "Third Great Empire of India."

The Delhi Durbar, Dec. 12, 1911

Lord Hardinge had much sympathy for the Indians. A cowardly attack was made on his life by throwing a bomb on him. The Viceroy had a narrow escape, but an attendant was killed on the spot. Yet Lord Hardinge would not be vengeful. Again, a great commotion was created in South Africa by the Union Government forbidding all Indians "from trading, farming, or holding real property in the Orange Free State." Indians had helped the white settlers to develop the South African colonies, but to deny them the ordinary rights of citizenship because of racial prejudice was felt to be unfair. M. K. Gandhi, who was then in South Africa, started the Passive Resistance Movement, and led a band of 2,500 Indians from Natal into the Transvaal state with a view

Indians in South Africa

of testing the validity of the law of the exclusive rights of the white population. Lord Hardinge then took up the cause of the Indians and demanded a Committee of Enquiry. Prudence induced the South African Government to yield, and in 1914, the recommendations of the Commission were embodied in what are known as the "Indian Relief Act" and the "Smuts-Gandhi Agreement," which gave the Indians general satisfaction. Thus did Hardinge champion the cause of Indian labour abroad.

The Great War 1914—19

In August 1914, the Great War broke out in Europe. Aggressive Germany invaded France through the neutral state of Belgium. This was against international law and in defiance of all treaty obligations. England was bound by treaty to help Belgium and as she was in friendship with both France and Russia, they all joined together to fight against Germany. Later on, Italy and America also joined the allies because their cause was a just one. Germany, on the other hand, had as her allies Austria and Turkey. The cause of the war was stated to be the murder of the heir to the throne of Austria in Serbian territory, but later on it turned out to be a war of aggression for Germany. Thanks to the labour of Bismark and Frederick Wilhelm in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Germany had grown strong, powerful and united. Her population had increased a good deal. She had no good opening to the sea, nor could she find lands overseas for her growing population. She came too late for colonisation. The only way she could expand and provide for her people was by war. And she had been preparing for this from the first.

India's response

In such a mighty struggle, the Overseas Dominions of Britain could not remain passive. They all readily joined in the war and helped the mother-country with men and money. Lord Hardinge spared no pains to demonstrate India's immense capacity to render help. Indian troops which happened to be in readiness at the time went to the front and stemmed the tide of German invasion. They fought in Flanders, France, Macedonia, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia and so helped the Allies to win the war. They numbered a million and according to one computation, 36,696 Indians died in the various theatres of war. India contributed about one hundred and five millions in cash towards the expenses of the war. The unswerving loyalty of the Indians, their daring deeds in all the theatres of the war and their ready response in the most trying times—these so

moved the British Government that two Indians, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha, were immediately admitted to the membership of the Imperial War Cabinet. A feeling was also generated that thenceforth the Government should show great consideration to the claims of the Indians for a reasonable measure of self-government. In the midst of the war, Lord Hardinge laid down office and was succeeded by Lord Chelmsford.

LORD CHELMSFORD. 1916—21

The Great War was still in progress, and the success of the Indian arms had roused high hopes among the people. As the war was fought in defence of the rights of smaller nations, the people were imbued with a deep longing for political power. Dr. Besant led the Home Rule Movement which demanded for India Self-Government or Dominion Status. The agitation became so persistent that the Government had the leaders interned for a time. But it did not mend matters for soon the Government found that the agitation was gaining ground. As it was already preoccupied with the tremendous task of fighting Germany, Government thought it prudent to allay discontent in India by an unconditional release of the interned leaders. The result was that agitation ceased, and in the Lucknow Congress that followed, all parties were united, and a demand was made for constitutional government.

Home Rule

The Government in England was not slow in recognizing the just claims of the Indians. An epoch-making statement was made in Parliament on August 20, 1917, by E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. He said " The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." He also added that " progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance."

The Historic Announcement of Aug. 20-1917

Having defined the policy of the Government, Montagu visited India in person—the first time that a Secretary of State for India did

so. In conjunction with the Viceroy, he collected much valuable information on the basis of which the first instalment of reforms was introduced. This is known as the Montford Reforms.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919

Some 'far-reaching changes' were introduced by the Reforms Act of 1919. The India Council now has three Indians among its members. The salary of the Secretary of State and his Council is met from the British Exchequer. A Convention has been established that in general in matters of purely Indian interest the Secretary of State should not interfere if the Government and the Legislature in India are in agreement. A High Commissioner for India has been appointed in London to do all agency work for the Government of India. His salary and the cost of his establishment are borne by the Government of India.

In India, three Indians are admitted to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The new Indian Legislature consists of two Houses called the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Upper House consists of sixty members including the President who is appointed by the Viceroy. Only one-third of the total strength of this House can be officials. Unlike the House of Lords where membership is hereditary and by right of birth, the members of the Indian Upper House are partly elected (thirty-three out of sixty are elected) and partly nominated. The Lower House or the Legislative Assembly consists at present of one hundred and forty-five members including the President. Of these, one-hundered and four are elected by the people while twenty-six of the nominated members are officials. The first President of the Assembly was nominated by the Government, but later 'Speakers' were to be elected by the Assembly from among its members. The members of the Upper House retain their seats for five years and those of the Lower for three years. The Legislature has power not only to discuss the acts of Government and pass laws, but has also some control over finance. However, in certain cases, where the interests of the country are concerned, the Viceroy is given special powers to 'certify' bills or 'veto' legislation.

As regards the provinces, the Legislatures there also have been enlarged. In the major provinces the strength varies from one hundred and eleven to one hundred and twenty-five while in the smaller ones it is from seventy to ninety-eight. Seventy per cent. of the total number should be elected while not more than twenty per cent. of the total should be officials. Half the number of the Governor's Executive

Council should be Indians. The chief feature of the Reforms in the provinces is known as 'Dyarchy', *i.e.*, the work of Government is divided into two parts. Some subjects like law, justice and general administration are labelled 'reserved' and are in the hands of the Executive, while the rest like local self-government, education, public works, sanitation and health are termed 'transferred' and left to be administered by Ministers appointed by the Governor from among the elected members of the legislature. The object was to give Indians the necessary training in responsible government, and as they gain more and more experience, to transfer gradually, the 'Reserved' subjects also to the ministers, till finally there would come about full responsible government. Like the Viceroy, the Governors of provinces have the power of 'certification' and 'veto.' The franchise was enlarged and more people were given the right to vote. Seats were also redistributed, care being taken to reserve seats in special areas to secure adequate representation of minority communities. As regards finance, the taxes were classified as 'Central' and 'Provincial'. Under the former come the income-tax, the salt-tax, Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and Customs, while under the latter come land revenue, irrigation, excise, judicial and general stamps. The loss of revenue to the Central Government under this charge was made good by special contribution by the provinces according to their several capacity.

Such, in brief, are the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which marked a real step forward towards popular or responsible government.

The Punjab Tragady, 1919

While the constitutional changes were being discussed, troubles were brewing apace in some quarters. The Great War had brought in depression, the failure of the crops owing to the lack of the monsoon aggravated the trouble. The fall of Turkey made the Muslims anxious as to what would become of their holy places, and what would happen to their Khalifa at the close of the war. Because of the war, the Defence of the Realm Act was enforced strictly. When crimes become common it was felt that the Government should have more power to deal with grave crimes. Hence the 'Rowlatt Act' was passed giving power to the Government to imprison people without trial. This was felt too arbitrary a procedure, and so Mahatma Gandhi started the Passive Resistance Movement in India to have the Rowlatt Act annulled. Meetings were held all over the land and people were asked to disobey Government

without committing any violence. As the agitation grew strong in the Punjab, the Government proclaimed 'martial law' there, and deported the leaders. It was at this juncture that General Dyer fired with machine guns upon an unarmed crowd at Jallianwallabagh at Amritsar (1919) and many were killed and wounded. This is known as the Punjab Tragedy, and the feelings of the people were estranged. The Commission that was appointed by the Government later on to enquire into the martial law administration in the Punjab disclosed many deplorable incidents. Hence the Montford Reforms which were introduced under such auspices soon lost their attractiveness.

War with Afghanistan, 1919

To add to its troubles, the Government had to wage a war with Afghanistan also. The Amir, Habibullah, who had been all along friendly with the English, was murdered on Feb. 20, 1919. One of his sons, Amanullah, managed to get the throne. But, as the war fever was high among the tribes, he turned their attention to an invasion of British territory. For by that way alone could he manage to retain the throne. The troubles in India at the time had filled him with high hopes of success. But the Government of India were equal to the occasion. Troops were promptly marched up the Khyber. Dakka was captured, and, for the first time in eastern history, bombs were thrown from the air over Kabul and Jalalabad. The Afghans stood powerless and sued for peace. A treaty was signed at Rawalpindi in August 1919. The Afghan trouble was firmly put down.

SECTION D. INDIAN POLITICS SINCE 1919

Lord Reading, 1921-28

Lord Reading, the succssor of Lord Chemsford, had a very difficult task before him. The Reform had to be worked in the teeth of the Congress opposition, while riots, rebellions and distress troubled the land. The Great War was ended, but there was widespread depression. The Government had to effect retrenchments, and the problem of the unemployed, especially among the educated classes, became very acute. The Treaty of Sevres, by depriving Turkey of her European possessions, embittered the Muslims who, thereafter, began the 'Khilafat' agitation or the restoration of their Khalifa.

There was a religious revival among the Sikhs, which also added to the difficulties of the Government. The Sikh faith was purged of all evils and corrupt practices that had crept in so far, and the reformers called themselves 'Akalis.' They wanted to free their

shrines also from corruption. But the monks or Mahants, as the Sikh Gurus were called, stood by their legal rights, treated the reformers with great cruelty, and sought the aid of the Government. The latter had to interfere in the interest of law and order; but their action was misunderstood, as the quarrel was religious. The dispute was, however, settled peaceably through the influence of a philanthropic gentleman of the place.

The Akali Movement

The Moplah Rebellion, Aug. 1921

There was a serious rebellion in Malabar. Owing to economic causes, the Moplahs or the Muslims of Malabar, broke out in rebellion, and proclaimed a Khilafat Raj. There was great loss of life and property, and, as the Moplahs were sturdy fighters, the Government had to send large troops to put down the rebellion. However, the trouble was soon ended and order restored.

Royal Visits

In February 1921, the first Reformed Councils under the Montford scheme began to function. They were opened in Delhi by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, who came to India specially for this purpose. His was a mission of peace and good-will. The great Duke adjured all, British and Indians, to forget and forgive the past, and join hands in cordial friendship to realise the hopes of the future. In November of the same year, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales also visited India bringing kindly messages from his father to the people. He wanted to study first-hand the land and her needs. He was much impressed by the deep-rooted loyalty of the people, but his tour in the country was marred by 'riots' and 'boycott programmes.'

The Non-Co-operation Movement

But political agitation in the country did not cease. After the death of the great leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1920, the leadership of the Congress fell on the shoulders of Mahatma Gandhi who started the Non-Cooperation Movement against the Government. The Congress demanded full responsible Government, while the Montford scheme ushered in only the first of a series of steps towards it. Hence was organised a nonviolent struggle with the Government, *viz*, the boycott of schools and colleges, of the law courts and the reformed Councils; and lastly, if the Government did not yield in the meanwhile taxes too would not be paid to the Government. As Mahatma Gandhi is a great believer in spiritual force, he called on the nation to be strictly non-violent in their actions. Meetings were held all over the land and

the boycott programme went on apace. Foreign cloth was burnt, schools and colleges came to be depleted, and the new Councils too were rejected by the more prominent nationalists. Government had to arrest and imprison many for political offences. Finally, Mahatma Gandhi made ready to begin the 'no-tax campaign' when the Chauri Chaura tragedy occurred, in which twenty-one policemen were brutally done to death by the mob. True to his principles of non-violence, Gandhi called off civil disobedience. He was arrested on the 10th of March, 1922. He pleaded 'guilty,' and was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. But, in 1924, he was restored to liberty as he was seriously ill. Mahatma Gandhi retired to Sabarmati Ashram, where he spent his time at the Charka, spinning cotton, and inspiring the great industry of Khaddar.

As in the early days of the reign of George III in England the new Councils in India came to be filled by men of mediocre abilities, and power was used sometimes in selfish and rank communal interests. A strong feeling set in that the Councils should be filled by Congress-men only. They could then oppose the Government from within and so nullify the Reforms. But they were not to accept office. The leaders of this movement were C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. They formed a party within the Congress, called the Swaraj Party, and at the general election that followed, they captured many of the seats in the various Councils. They formed a powerful opposition in the legislatures and created many deadlocks. But their greatest success was when V.J. Patel, a prominent Swarajist became the first elected President of the Legislative Assembly. He not ouly won great esteem by his strict, logical and fearless exposition of the Parlimentary practice in the discharge of his duties, but sometimes he even baffled the officials by his masterful rulings.

The Swarajist Movement

While the Swarajists were pledged to non-acceptance of office and obstructionist tactics in the new Councils, the Government had to be carried on by lesser men supported by a solid block of official votes. Yet the new Councils contrived to pass some useful legislation. To better the condition of labour and prevent unhealthy emigration, a Factory Act (1922), a Mines Act (1923) and an Emigration Act (1922) were passed. The Civil Marriage Act of 1924 gave greater liberty to the contracting parties. The Criminal Law Amendment Act did away to some extent with the racial distinctions in the administration of the criminal law. The cotton

The Work of the New Legislatures

excise duty was abolished, and protective duties came to be imposed so as to encourage Indian industries. The Provincial Councils busied themselves in spreading compulsory primary education, Village Panchayats and in raising the lot of the depressed and oppressed classes. The Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Act (1923) and the Sikh Gurudwaras and Shrines (Punjab) Act of 1925 attempted to place religious trusts under efficient control. Above all, women have been admitted to the franchise and in Madras, the legislature elected a woman as its first Deputy President.

Abroad, a dignified status has been attained for India. Indians have been admitted to the Council of the League of Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the Imperial Conferences. In August 1926, Canada thought it worth her while to invite Sir T. Vijayaraghavachari of Madras to open an Exhibition at Toronto, while from 1927 onwards, Africa keeps an Agent-General from India to look after the welfare of the Indian immigrants there. The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri first and Sir K. V. Reddi later, have been the Agents-General in Africa.

Thus the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading was a most stirring time. Not only were some useful reforms passed, but, when agitation was strong in the country, the Viceroy showed great tact, patience and firmness and carried the country safe through a very trying time Lord Reading left India in 1926 and was succeeded by Lord Irwin.

Lord Irwin, 1926-31

Like Ripon, Lord Irwin was among the most successful of the Indian Viceroys. He was broad-minded, sympathetic and always ready to consult the leaders of the people, if thereby he could do some good to the country. Almost his first act in India was to issue a powerful appeal to the nation to sink all differences and unite together in a common bond of fellowship and goodwill.

Communal Disaffection

When Lord Irwin came to India, the communal tension was at its worst. Hindus and Muslims had, at one time, united together in a "common antagonism" to Government. But the Treaty of Lausanne, by giving better terms to the Sultan of Turkey than the Treaty of Sevres, allayed the religious fears of the Muslims. Thenceforth both communities began to concentrate their attention each on securing as large a share as possible in the future government of the country. An attempt to reconvert those who had lapsed into

the other community was made with fatal results. Misunderstandings grew apace, the gulf was widened and communal riots followed. Mohurram riots broke out at Multan (1922), Saharanpur (1923) and at Kohat (1924). The outbreaks at Aligarh (1925), in Calcutta (1926) and other places grew from bad to worse till they reached their climax on December 23, 1926, when Swami Shraddhananda was murdered by a Muslim fanatic. The cause of friction was often bound to have been very trivial, *viz.*, a petty quarrel between a Mahomedan shop-keeper and a Hindu customer or *vice versa*, or the playing of music before mosque. Unity Conferences by revered leaders of both communities could not end the strife and so Lord Irwin, from the high position, earnestly called on all "to begin each in his own community to work untiringly towards this end; boldly to repudiate feelings of hatred and intolerance, actively to condemn and suppress acts of violence and aggression, earnestly to strive to exercise suspicions and misapprehensions and so to create a new atmosphere of trust."

The Afghan Revolution 1928

An event of grave consequence happened in Afghanistan. King Amanullah evinced an uncommon interest in modern scientific progress. Accompanied by the queen and a staff of officials, he went in 1927, on a tour to India and Europe. He attracted great attention wherever he went, and became immensely popular. On his return to Afghanistan, in 1928, he began to westernize his country and do away with the tribal laws and traditions. Edict after edict was issued with feverish haste altering the entire structure of the Afghan Society. This was too much for the Mullahs to bear who, therefore raised the standard of revolt. In this struggle, the soldiers deserted the king for their pay had unfortunately fallen into arrears. Bachai-Saqqao headed the revolt, defeated and drove away King Amanullah from Afghanistan. The ex-king is now spending his time in Rome. The usurper did not long enjoy his fortune. General Nadir Khan of the old royal line got the support of the Wazirs and so managed to defeat the usurper. He promptly executed him and then became king himself. Nadir Khan was a staunch friend of the British and helped them to put down the border raids and strife. He proved himself a capable ruler. Taking the Mullahs with him he was successful in pushing on Amanullah's programme of reform and reconstruction. On his tragic death he was succeeded by his son, Zahir Shah, the present Amir of Afghanistan.

The African Debacle

Lord Irwin had to safeguard the interests of the Indian emigrants in Africa. There are about three million of them in South Africa and Kenya. They have rendered good service to the white settlers in developing these tropical regions. Instead of treating them generously, the colonies have passed a number of laws based on colour discrimination. Indians could not possess land, they could not enter club rooms, nor use the trains and carriages as freely as the Europeans. These provoked great discontent and so the Government of India sent the Paddison Deputation to South Africa in 1925 'to study first-hand and collect information about the condition of the Indians there.' A return Deputation to India by the Union Government soon eased the situation and the Cape Town Agreement of 1926 removed all fears about compulsory repatriation. An Agent-General was appointed in Africa, to look after the interests of the Indians and so help the Union Government to do justice to the immigrants. The position of the Indians in Kenya is far worse and a visit of the Agent-General to that colony disclosed many ills. The Government of India has, therefore, appealed to His Majesty's Government to do full justice to the Indians, who have done their utmost to raise the colonies to a high state of economic efficiency.

The Sarada Act

Child marriage has become very common in India and its evil consequences to society cannot be ignored. For some time past, social reformers have been doing their best to bring about a change; but, for lack of active Government support in the form of legislation, their attempts proved ineffctive. At last, a Marriage Bill was introduced in the Lagislative Assembly by Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda, and with Government sympathy it was passed into law. This Sarda Act, as it is called, came into force in 1930. It prohibits the marriage of boys under eighteen and of girls under fourteen years of age. But orthodox opinion is still strongly against this Act. So there is agitation in the country to repeal this Act.

Government by Commissions

The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin may be characterised as government by Commissions. Many Commissions were appointed to report on the various activities of the nation. The information thus collected was made use of by the Government to promote the well-being of the people. The Linlithgow Commission reported in 1928 "on the conditions of agriculture and rural economy in British India" together with many "recommendations for the

improvement of agriculture and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population." In consequence, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was established. The Visveswarayya Committee enquired into Indian economic conditions. The Taxation Enquiry Committee laid bare the whole scheme of Indian taxation—central, provincial and local. This report has been of great help to the Government in framing its budget proposals ever since. The Hilton Young Commission dealt with the exchange problem, and the Government was able to keep the ratio at 18*d.* the rupee. Another Committee enquired into the present system of banking in India. The Skeen Committee reported on the methods of improving the present supply of Indian candidates for the King's Commission and the opening of a military college in India. The Butler Committee tried to determine the relations between the paramount power and the Indian States in any future scheme of Indian constitutional reform. The Whitley Commission suggested means not only to increase the efficiency of labour, but also how to enhance and better the production in the country. Above all the Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 to report on further constitutional reforms for India.

In 1927, Parliament appointed the Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon to report on further political reforms for India. As there was not even a single Indian representative on the Commission, it was not popular. No politician of note came forward to give evidence before the Commission. Yet Sir John Simon and his colleagues toured India and collected evidence. They published their report in 1930. They recommended a form of federation for all India. The Central Government was to be left intact while in the Provinces dyarchy was to be replaced by autonomy, subject to certain reservations. Burma, Sind and Orissa were to become separate provinces. The interests of depressed classes were to be safeguarded by the reservation of seats in the legislatures.

The Simon Commission and its Report

The recommendations of the Simon Commission evoked no enthusiasm anywhere. On the contrary, there was great agitation in the land. Many said that a Round Table Conference would meet the Indian demands much better. Mahatma Gandhi came out of his retirement in 1929 and demanded, in the name of the Congress, full Dominion Status within a year or he would then pledge the Congress to Independence. As it was, from 1930 onwards, the Congress had

Civil Disobedience

come to demand independence and the opposition to the existing government thus began. Gandhi then intimated to the Viceroy that he would begin mass civil disobedience if the following, among other things, were not conceded:—(*a*) Total prohibition : (*b*) reduction of land revenue and its subjection to legislative control ; (*c*) abolition of the salt-tax ; (*d*) retrenchment in the army and other departments of expenditure : and (*e*) release of political prisoners. On March 12, 1930, he began his historic March to Dandi, a village near Surat, to manufacture salt in defiance of the laws of the land. Agitation in the country became strong and at one time more than 60,000 persons were in jail. Though Gandhi preached strict non-violence, in some places mob-violence ensued, and martial law had to be proclaimed. Gandhi was arrested and kept in the Yerrowada jail. But his place as leader of the Congress was taken by others in succession and civil disobedience was continued. To ease the situation, the Viceroy succeeded in persuading the new Labour Government in England to summon a Round Table Conference with many Indians in it to shape the future constitution of India.

The Round Table Conference

The first session of the Round Table Conference met in London in 1931 to discuss the Simon Report and decide, on general lines, further political reforms. It was decided to have an all-India federation with central responsibility the provincial governments should get autonomy, while with regard to the Indian States, steps should be taken to induce them to arrive at some means whereby the interests both of British and Indian India might be secured. But in these discussions the Congress did not participate. The absence of the Congress leaders, more especially of Mahatma Gandhi, was keenly felt. Lord Irwin, who was ever ready to do a good turn, agreed to have some talks with Gandhi, the outcome of which was what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. All civil disobedience was stopped, and Gandhi agreed to proceed to London to take part in the discussions of a further session of the Round Table Conference. The Government in turn agreed to stop repression and release from prison the political leaders. Having thus eased the situation in India, Lord Irwin laid down his office and returned to England. He was succeeded by Lord Willingdon.

Lord Willingdon has enjoyed the rare fortune of being called on again and again to fill the high position of a pro consul. He had been twice Governor in India, once Governor-General

of Canada, and again he came to India as the supreme ruler of the country. The chief events of his administration centred round the agitation for the grant of further constitutional reforms.

Lord Willingdon 1931-35

Mahatma Gandhi attended the second session of the Round Table Conference. He took part in the discussions in the various Committees and thus emphasised the Congress demands. He also visited various parts of England and had many useful talks with the British politicians. But the work of the Conference was seriously impeded owing to disagreement on the communal question. The Muslims sustained a severe loss in the death of Maulana Mahomed Ali. Premier Macdonald then told the delegates that if they did not come to an agreement soon, he himself would take up the question and all parties should abide by his decision. Meanwhile, events in India called for the presence of Mahatma Gandhi. There had been a breach of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on both sides and so trouble arose. Hence Gandhi returned to India. Ere he could begin civil disobedience again, he was arrested and kept under restraint in Yerrowada.

Gandhi in England, 1932

Lord Willingdon had to issue several ordinances or emergency laws to put down agitation. Many political offenders were sent to jail and meetings were forbidden. In enforcing these emergency laws, the police came into conflict with the public and the excesses, if any, on either side only heightened the disaffection.

Meanwhile, the Premier's award on the communal question was published; but it did not give adequate representation to the Hindus and the depressed classes, Mahatma Gandhi had been preaching the removal of untouchability and class inequalities. He did not want special electorates for them. So he threatened a long fast if adequate representation was not given to the Hindus and if the special electorates for the depressed classes were not removed. Fear for his life led the leaders to unite together, and thus agreement was reached.

The Harijans

Latterly, Gandhi has taken up the cause of the Harijans and he wants to admit them freely into all places of worship. Thus he would remove all social inequalities ere political freedom is granted. Recently, he emerged out of a three weeks' fast as a mark of self-purification. The Government set him free then for considerations of health. But as the prospect of his beginning mass civil disobedience once again drew near, he was once again thrown in prison on a charge of breaking an order to quit a particular place before a certain time.

While events in India stood thus, in England the work of the Round Table Conference was continued. The White Paper containing the chief proposals of constitutional reform in contemplation was published, and in the summer of 1933 a session of the Joint Committee was also held. Based on the recommendations of the Committee, a Bill was drafted, introducing certain reforms in the administration of India. Sir Samuel Hoare was the Secretary of State for India who piloted the Bill through the House of Commons. The Bill was passed into an Act called the Government of India Act, 1935. According to it, a federation of all British Indian provinces and such Indian States as join it is to be set up for the whole of India. Burma is to be separated from India. Orissa and Sind have become separate provinces. There will be two houses of legislature at the centre. In the provinces there is to be provincial autonomy, while Governors are armed with certain reserve powers to be used in their own discretion during extraordinary times for the preservation of peace and order.

The Goverment of India Act, 1935

The Viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon witnessed a great depression in trade on account of varions causes, affecting the whole world. An agreement for trade within the different countries of the British Empire was arrived at at Ottawa. Since it was regarded as prejudicial to the interest of India, the agreement has been given up now (1936) after two years of working. Two new harbours were opened to encourage foreign trade—one at Vizagapatam on the east coast and the other at Cochin on the west coast of peninsular India. The country suffered from two terrible earthquakes—one in Bihar in 1934 and the other at Quetta in 1935—during the viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon. In May 1935 the Silver Jubilee of the accession to the throne of His Majesty King George V was celebrated all over India.

King Edward VIII & George VI

But shortly after in January 1936 the good King died and his son ascended the throne as King Edward VIII.

Much was expected of him because of his liberal views and wide sympathy for the masses. But owing to his marriage difficulty he had to abdicate the throne in December 1936, and retire into private life as the Duke of Windsor. His younger brother the Duke of York succeeded him on the throne as King George VI. He and his wife Elizabeth were crowned as King and Queen in May 1937. The Coronation in London was largely attended by representatives from all over the Empire.

Their Majesties went on a tour in Canada in May 1939 and their visit to India and formal Coronation as Emperor of India at Delhi is yet to come and is eagerly awaited by their loyal citizens.

Lord Willingdon laid down his office on the completion of five years of authority and Lord Linlithgow assumed charge in April 1936 as the Viceroy and Governor-General. The new Viceroy is a Scottish lord with large agricultural interests. Even before he became the Viceroy he had studied Indian affairs as the Chairman of a Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture and as the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament to draft a report on Indian constitutional Reforms. After taking charge of his office he is attempting to improve the condition of the agriculturists.

Marquis of Linlithgow, 1936-43.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow has been a highly momentous one in more ways than one. In 1937 the elections under the new Government of India Act of 1935 were held, and in *six Provinces, Madras, Bombay, Central Province, United Provinces, Bihar aud Orissa,* the Congress candidates topped the polls. But the Congress Party would not accept office unless and until a definite promise was given that the Viceroy and the respective Governors would not use the reserve powers vested in them under the Act. Hence *Interim Governments* had to be formed in those Provinces and the new legislatures could not meet for a time. Happily the controversy was amicably settled in the course of a few months and the Congress Party shouldered full responsibility by taking on themselves the reins of government in July 1937. Sometime afterwards, in two other Provinces, the North-west Frontier and Assam, where the Congress party was not in a majority, they formed Coalition Ministries with the help of other parties.

Conscious of their high responsibilities, the new provincial ministries began seriously to apply themselves to the task of redeeming their pledges to the electorate. Reduction of taxation, rural reconstruction, spread of education and ensuring the well-being and prosperity of the masses, these were among the Herculean tasks which faced them. The Congress party had also pledged itself to introduce prohibition. In order to fulfil these tasks, the new provincial Governments began programmes of social reform and economic reconstruction. The Congress Ministers fixed low salaries for themselves in order to demonstrate their view of the salaries, India could afford to pay its public servants. They also introduced prohibition by

Popular Ministers

degrees and in selected areas. A new orientation to education was given by the Wardha scheme, devised under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, which sought to make the pupils learn by doing and to give a practical and vocational bias to the curriculum. Attempts were also made to spread the knowledge of Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India, to reorganise rural medical service, to provide drinking water facilities in rural areas, to relieve the agriculturist of his accumulated indebtedness and to reduce the burden of land revenue. To make up for the loss of revenue caused by prohibition and the reduction of land tax, new measures of taxation were introduced. The object was to shift the burden of taxation on to shoulders better able to bear it. The success of the popular Governments in British India had its own reaction in the Indian States, where too the movement for associating the people with the administration began to be speeded up. And there was everywhere the hope that the Federation contemplated under the 1935 Act would soon be inaugurated and that popular influence would make itself felt in the Central Government also.

The Second World War

The outbreak of the second world war in September 1939 unfortunately brought this period of peaceful progress and reform to an end. Political conflict began again between the Congress leaders and the British government and in October 1939, less than two months after the wat started, the Congress Ministries resigned as they considered the British reply to their demands about the post war status of India unsatisfactory. As no alternative ministries could be formed, there was a break-down of the constitution in these provinces and the Governors took over the administration under Section 93 of the Act. In August 1940 the British Government formally declared it to be their policy to make India attain Dominion Status as soon as possible after the war, and invited the political leaders to join the Viceroy's Executive Council. Both the Congress and the Muslim League rejected the offer, and in October 1940, a further stage in the political conflict was reached when at the bidding of Mahatma Gandhi selected Congress leaders began to register, protests against associating India with war and went to prison. In August 1941, Lord Linlithgow (whose term had been extended) reconstituted his Executiv Council by including in it several well-known public men, belonging to parties other than the Congress and the Muslim League. The new Executive Council ordered the release of the imprisoned leaders in December 1941 in order to make further attempts towards a political settlement.

Immediately afterwards, hostilities broke out in the Far East. By a sudden treacherous attack, Japan succeeded in winning a series of rapid victories. The Phillipines, Hongkong, the East Indies, Malaya, Singapore and Burma fell to the aggressor between December 1941 and May 1942.

The Cripps Mission

The threat of foreign invasion gave a further urgency to the need for a political settlement, and Sir Strafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet, came to India in March 1942 on a mission to end the political conflict in India. The proposals made by him included (i) the offer of Dominion Status to India after the war, with right to secede from the Empire, (ii) the creation of more than one free sovereign state in India, should the Moslems and the Princes so insist and (iii) the setting up of a machinery to devise the new constitution immediately on the cessation of hostilities. These proposals were however rejected by both the Congress and the Moslem League on grounds connected with the constitution and powers of the Viceroy's Executive Council during the war. And in August 1942, the Congress threatened to start Civil Disobedience again. This naturally led to the arrest of the leaders, and there soon broke out a movement of lawlessness, often leading to violence and sabotage, which had to be sternly brought under control.

The New Viceroy

The exigencies of the war situation led to three extensions to the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow. After seven and a half fateful and momentous years, he will be laying down his office in October 1943. Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, a distinguished British General and Commander-in-Chief of India from 1941 to 1943, has been appointed to succeed him.

The war is still going on. But the tide has definitely turned against Hitler in the West and Japan in the East. And after the war is won, India's future is assured, if only her people can unite.

The chronicle of "A School History of India" is now concluded. Long, long ago, this vast continent was almost a jungle inhabited sparsely by primitive and rude races of men. A series of successive immigrations brought into India a fair race of Aryans who developed a high degree of culture evidenced in the hymns which they composed in admiration of the universe around them. Then arose countless kingdoms in the land, and a new faith was also inaugurated by the Lord Buddha. Not many centuries passed before more hardy races from the north-west, regarding India as an attractive prey, poured in rapidly, and for more than a thousand years now, Muhammadans have been a permanent element of the Indian people. India was fated to receive another wave of foreign influence from the Europeans, from among whom the British succeeded in eastablishing an empire in this country. India to-day is the meeting ground of different races and civilisations and it behoves the citizen to make his best endeavour for shaping the common national destiny for the largest general good. A knowledge of the history of the country is

essential for the intelligent fulfilment of the civic responsibility of each individual. All the ancient temples and buildings and memorials we see around us should induce us naturally to ask questions about the story of the past. A knowledge of the working of old institutions is of no small help to us in solving the problems which arise at the present day, for we must remember that the present is but the growth and development of the past.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—BRITISH INDIA

A.D.	
1486	Bartholomew Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope.
1498	Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut.
1502	Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama.
,,	Papal Bull of Alexander VI.
1505—1509	Viceroyalty of Almeida
1509—1515	,, Albuquerque.
1510	Albuquerque takes Goa.
1511	Capture of Malacca.
1515	,, Ormuz.
1538	The Portuguese erect a fortress at Diu.
1591	The first English voyage round the Cape.
1608	Queen Elizabeth's Charter.
1602	Incorporation of the United East India Company of the Netherlands.
1605	Capture of Amboyna by the Dutch.
1612	Best's Victory over the Portuguese off Swally.
1615	Sir Thomas Roe visits the Mughal Court.
1619	Foundation of Batavia by the Dutch.
1628	Massacre at Amboyna.
1630	The English settle permanently at Masulipatam.
1633	,, open factories at Balasore and Hariharpur.
1639	Francis Day acquires Madras.
1641	The Portuguese are driven from Malacca.
1651	The English obtain permission to open a factory at Hooghly.
1664	Colbert incorporates the French East India Company
1668	The East India Company purchases Bombay.
,,	The first French factory at Surat.
1674	Foundation of Pondicherry by Francis Martin.
1690	Job Charnock founds Calcutta.
1698	The new English East India Company receives its Charter.
1731	Dupleix in charge of Chandranagar.
1740	Ali Vardi Khan usurps the throne of Bengal.
1741	Dupleix becomes Governor-General of Pondicherry.
1745—48	First war between the French and the English.
1748	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
,,	Death of Nizam-ul-Mulk.
1749—54	Second war between the French and the English.
1750	Warren Hastings arrives in India.
1751	Salabat Jang becomes the Subadar of the Deccan.
,,	Siege of Arcot.
1752	Clive victory at Kaveripauk.
1754	Godeheu supersedes Dupleix.
1756	Siraj-ud-daula becomes the Nawab of Bengal.
,,	The Black Hole Incident.
1757	Battle of Plassey.
,,	Mir Jafar becomes the Nawab of Bengal.
1757—61	Third war between the French and the English.
1758	Count de Lally bombards Fort St. David.
,,	Col. Forde defeats the French at Condore.
,,	Masulipatam taken from Conflans.
,,	First Governorship of Clive.

A.D.	
1759	Clive captures Chinsura.
1760	Battle of Wandiwash.
,,	Clive returns to England.
1761	Surrender of Pondicherry.
1763	Peace of Paris.
1764	Battle of Baxar.
1765	Second Governorship of Clive.
,,	The *Diwani* of Bengal acquired by the English.
1767	Clive retires.
1767—69	First Mysore War.
1767	Battles of Changama and Trincomali.
1772—74	Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal.
1773	The Regulating Act.
1773—74	The Rohilla War.
1774—85	Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings.
1775—82	First Maratha War.
1775	Treaty of Surat.
1778	The Affair of Raja Chait Singh.
1780—84	Second Mysore War.
1781	Battle of Porto Novo and Sholinghur.
,,	Capture of Negapatam.
,,	Coercion of the Begums of Oudh.
1782	Capture of Trincomali.
,,	Treaty of Salbai.
1784	Treaty of Mangalore.
,,	Pitt's India Act.
1785	Warren Hastings retires.
1786—93	Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis
1788—95	Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1790—92	Third Mysore War.
1791	Capture of Bangalore.
1792	Treaty of Seringapatam.
1793	Permanent Settlement of Bengal.
1793—98	Sir John Shore is the Governor-General.
1794	Nana Farnavis succeeds the deceased Mahadji Sindhia.
1795	Battle of Khards.
1798—1806	Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Wellesley.
1799	Fourth Mysore War.
,,	Fall of Seringapatam.
1800	Death of Nana Farnavis.
1802	Treaty of Bassein.
1802—04	Third Marata War.
1803	Capture of Ahmadnagar.
,,	Battle of Assaye, Argaon, Aligarh and Laswari.
,,	Peace of Deogaon and Sirji.Anjengaon.
,,	Sindhia and Bhonsla accept the Treaty of Bassein.
1804	English victories at Dig and Farukhabad.
1805	Second Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis.
1805—07	Governor-Generalship of Sir George Barlow.
1806	Vellore Mutiny.
1807—13	Lord Minto is the Governor-General.
1809	Treaty of Amritsar.
,,	Embassy to Persia and Afghanistan.
1813	Renewal of Charter.
1813—23	Governorship of Lord Hastings.
1814—16	War with Nepal
1816	Treaty of Sagauli.
1817	Pindari War and Nagpur Revolt.
1817—18	Last Maratha War.
1823—28	Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst.
1824—26	First Burmese War.
1824	Burmese Incursions into Cachar.
,,	Capture of Rangoon.

A.D.	
1826	Treaty of Yandabo.
,,	Capture of Bharatpur.
1828—35	Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck.
1829	Suppression of *Sati.*
1833	Renewal of the Charter.
1835—36	Governor-Generalship of Sir Charles Metcalfe.
1836—42	Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland.
1839—42	First Afghan War.
1839	Death of Ranjit Singh.
1842—44	Governor-Generalship of Lord Ellenborough.
1843	Annexation of Sind.
,,	Gwalior Outbreak.
,,	Battles of Maharajpur and Paniar.
1844—48	Governor-Generalship of Lord Hardinge.
1845—46	First Sikh War.
1845	Battle of Mudki.
1846	Battles of Aliwal and Sobraon.
,,	Treaty of Lahore.
1848—56	Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie.
1848—49	Second Sikh War.
1848	Siege of Multan.
,,	Battle of Chillienwala and Gujarat.
,,	Annexation of the Punjab.
1849	Annexation of Satara.
1852	Second Burmese War.
,,	Annexation of Pegu.
1853	Renewal of the Charter.
,,	Annexation of Jhansi and Nagpur.
1856	Annexation of Oudh.
1856—62	Governor-Generalship of Lord Canning.
1857	Treaty with Dost Muhammad.
1857—58	The Sepoy Mutiny.
1857	Rising at Meerut; Massacre at Cawnpore.
,,	Rising at Lucknow; Capture of Delhi and Reduction of Oudh.
,,	Rose captures Jhansi and Gwalior.
,,	Madras, Calcutta and Bombay Universities founded.
1858	Parliamentary Act transferring Control of Indian Affairs to the Crown.
,,	Queen Victoria's Proclamation.
1858—62	Viceroyalty of Lord Canning.
1859	Bengal Rent Act.
1860	Passing of the Penal Code.
1862—63	Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin.
1864—69	Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence.
1864	War with Bhutan.
1866	Orissa Famine.
1868	Tenancy Act of the Punjab and Oudh.
,,	Sher Ali regains Rulership of Afghanistan.
1869—72	Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo.
1869	Ambala Understanding with Sher Ali.
,,	Opening of the Suez Canal.
1872—76	Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook.
1873—74	Bengal and Bihar Famine
1876—80	Viceroylaty of Lord Lytton
1878	Vernacular Press Act.
1878—80	Second Afghan War.
1879	Treaty of Gandamuk.
1880—84	Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon.
1881	Mysore handed over to the Raja.
1882	Local Government Act passed.
1884—88	Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin.
1885	First Indian National Congress.

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1885—86	Third Burmese War.
1886	Upper Burma annexed.
1887	Settlement of the Afghan Line.
,,	Queen Victoria's Jubilee.
1888—94	Viceroyalty of Lord Lendsdown.
1889	Interference in Kashmir.
1892	Lord Cross's Act.
1893	Durand Mission.
1894—99	Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin.
1895—96	Famine and Plague.
1897	Tirath Campaign.
1899—1905	Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon.
1901	Habibulla becomes Amir.
,,	Death of Queen Victoria.
1904	Sir Louis Dane Mission to Kabul.
,,	Tibetan Expedition.
1905—10	Viceroyalty of Lord Minto.
1909	Morley-Minto Reforms.
1910—16	Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge.
1912	Coronation Durbar.
1914	South African Indian Relief Act.
1914—18	The Great War.
1916—21	Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford.
1919	Martial Law in the Punjab.
,,	Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.
,,	Third Afghan War.
1921	New Legislature opened by the Duke of Connaught.
1921—26	Viceroyalty of Lord Reading.
1921	Moplah Rising.
,,	H.R.H. the Prince of Wales visits India.
,,	The Non-Cooperation Movement started.
1925	Paddison Deputatioa to South Africa.
,,	Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Act.
1926—31	Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin.
1926	Linlithgow Commission.
,,	Hilton Young Commission.
,,	Taxation Enquiry Committee.
,,	Economic Enquiry Committee.
,,	Cape Town Agreement.
1927	Skeen Committee.
1927	The Indian Statutory Commission (Appointment announced).
1929	Afghan Revolution.
,,	The Lahore Congress passes the Resolution on Independence.
1930	Sarda Act becomes Law.
,,	The Salt March by Mahatma Gandhi.
,,	First Round Table Conference.
,,	Publication of Simon Commission Report.
1931	Gandhi-Irwin Pact Issued.
1931	Viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon.
1935	Second Round Table Conference.
,,	Formation of the National Government in Britain.
,,	Government of India Act Passed.
1936	Viceroyalty of Marquis of Linlithgow
1937	Congress Party accepts Power.
,,	Accession of King George VI, King Emperor of India.
1938	The Reforms of the Congress Government.
1939 *May*	Their Majesties' Visit to Canada.
1936—43	Lord Linlithgow—Viceroy and Governor-General
1939 *Sep.*	2nd World War begins.
1939 *Oct.*	Congress Ministry resigns.
,,	Wavell Appointed Viceroy.

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